

THE LAST STATUES OF ANTIQUITY

edited by

R. R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

NA 2016.765



S 1 1 FEV. 1 6

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2016

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2016

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015944363

ISBN 978-0-19-875332-2

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

PREFACE

This volume presents some of the principal results of a major research project, 'The Last Statues of Antiquity' (LSA), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom and directed by the two authors of this Preface and editors of this book.¹ The aim of the project was to collect the full range of evidence for new, or newly erected, statues in the late Roman period, to examine the nature of these statues and how they were used, and to consider why they slowly disappeared from the urban landscape. There has been excellent work done recently on late Roman statues, from a number of different perspectives: the art-historical and iconographical, examining how they presented their subjects; the sociopolitical, analysing the use of statues within late Roman society; and the urban, considering how they were displayed within the context of the classical city.² But, because of the quantity of evidence available, no empire-wide survey of late Roman statuary had been attempted—producing such a survey was the purpose of the LSA project. In planning the project we were aware that late antiquity offered a dataset that was large enough to be analysed quantitatively, as well as qualitatively, but not so huge as to be unmanageable. A database and analysis of the statue evidence from the first three centuries of the Roman empire would require many more years and a much larger team.

The research was based in Oxford and carried out over three years between 2009 and 2012. At its heart was the Last Statues of Antiquity database, now freely available online and searchable in a number of different ways: <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>.³ It collects all the data that we were able to find about new statue honours and re-erected statues, set up between the accession of Diocletian in AD 284 and the very end of the statue habit at the beginning of the seventh century: with over 870 entries for surviving pieces of statuary, 1,630 for statue inscriptions, and 200 for literary references to statue honours—some 2,800 individual pieces of evidence in all. For all of these items, the essential data can be found in the database, with full references to further reading; and for the majority there is a detailed discussion page where the evidence is described and assessed. Whenever possible, multiple images of the pieces that survive are also presented. This database was the foundation of our

¹ Overall supervision of the project was by both directors, with R. R. R. Smith supervising the cataloguing of the surviving statuary, and Bryan Ward-Perkins overseeing the work on the inscriptions and literary evidence.

² e.g. D'Andria and Romeo (2011); Auinger and Aurenhammer (2010); Bauer (1996); Bauer and Witschel (2007); Bergmann (1977; 2007b); Camodeca (1981; 2010); Evers (1992); Feissel (1984; 1998; 2009); Foss (1984); Gehn (2012); Horster (1998); Kovacs (2014); Lepelley (1994); Niquet (2000); Roueché (2009); Stewart (2003); Strocka (1985); Tantillo and Bigi (2010); Weisweiler (2012).

³ The database was designed and constructed by Jeremy Worth, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University. His help has been invaluable throughout the project. The epigraphic material in the LSA database will shortly also be accessible through the single-entry portal, for all ancient inscribed texts, currently under construction by EAGLE, the 'Europeana Ancient Greek and Latin Epigraphy' project, with which LSA is collaborating.

research, but was also explicitly produced both to facilitate the work of other scholars and to satisfy the curiosity of the interested reader. A concordance appended to this volume provides a list of all entries in the LSA database, each with an abbreviated title and single primary reference to the main publication of the item.

It may be helpful to be explicit about what our project does and does not include. It is about statues in the public realm, primarily honorific statues for important living persons—studied both for themselves and as tracers for other kinds of urban processes. It is not about other kinds of sculptural artefact commonly found in private or funerary contexts, such as mythological statuary, sarcophagi, or marble statuettes. Our material belongs in and is about the contested zone of *public* life. In drawing conclusions from the surviving evidence, we might be thought guilty of a positivist fallacy—of taking what survives as typical of what once existed—but with some caveats we do feel that substantial parts of the evidence collected (especially the statue bases) are indeed representative of real ancient patterns of statue use. There are, of course, some distorting local factors, but our patchy, differentially distributed evidence probably does represent the ancient situation. This is not a matter that is capable of detailed demonstration, but we make our position clear at various points.⁴ In many respects our material is a continuation of honorific practices typical of the early empire; but such 'classical' statue practice has also undergone important adjustment by some of the new circumstances of late antiquity, among which Christianity is of course a large, imposing, and contested factor.

Two researchers, Julia Lenaghan and Ulrich Gehn, worked full-time on the LSA project, and its success is primarily due to their exceptional skills and dedication. We were, however, also fortunate to recruit a number of colleagues as collaborators, so that what began as an Oxford-based enterprise grew into a major international collaborative project. Of these colleagues, special mention must be made of Carlos Machado, then of the Universidade Federal de São Paulo in Brazil, who catalogued the over-700 statue inscriptions known from Italy (the majority from Rome) and collected the inscriptions from Africa.

Other major collaborators were: Johanna Auinger (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna) and Alexander Sokolicek (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) for the statuary and bases at Ephesus; Marianne Bergmann (Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen) for the surviving statuary in porphyry; Francesca Bigi and Ignazio Tantillo (Università degli Studi di Cassino) for the bases at Gortyna and Lepcis Magna; Amelia Brown (University of Queensland) for the material at Corinth; Gabriel de Bruyn (Université de Caen) for research into the imperial bases of central and western north Africa; Yuri Marano (Università di Padova) for the last statues and bases in Italy; Christian Witschel (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg) for the bases in Iberia, Gaul, and the upper Danube provinces.⁵ These

⁴ See, e.g. Ch. 2 (Ward-Perkins), p. 29.

⁵ We were given further invaluable and selfless help by a number of other scholars working in this field, who willingly shared with us their expertise and material: in particular Maria Aurenhammer (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna), Giuseppe Camodeca (Università di Napoli Federico II), Laura Chioffi (Seconda Università di Napoli), Robert Coates-Stephens (The British School at Rome), Georgios Deligiannakis (Open University of Cyprus), Denis Feissel (Collège de France-CNRS), Cyril and Marlia Mango (Oxford University), Roberto Meneghini (Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma),

collaborators not only have input the essential data for their material into the standardized format of the LSA database (where they appear as the authors of the discussion pages), but have also contributed the discussion chapters on their material in this volume.

This volume contains chapters designed to use the LSA material to answer a range of different questions, to look at the newly collected bases and statues from different perspectives. There are, of course, many other lines of inquiry that could be pursued. Those chosen here reflect partly the research interests of LSA's research partners and collaborators. The chapters have been designed to ask how the broad empire-wide collection of material in LSA has adjusted each author's perspective on the material with which they are most familiar. The sequence of chapters is also designed to proceed from a wide macro-picture of empire-wide statue use, to discrete provincial groups, east and west, to particular city contexts. There are also some thematic chapters—on different kinds of honorand (governors, women, culture heroes), and on such questions as re-use and changing portrait style.

A few peculiarities of presentation need to be explained. First and foremost, LSA numbers have been adopted as the primary references in the text and chapter footnotes. In the present day, with internet access more readily available than many of the various corpora of statuary and inscriptions, these LSA numbers will identify the piece being discussed much more rapidly for a reader than conventional print references (while also providing full information on the essential scholarly literature, and a discussion of the relevant issues).⁶ These LSA numbers were given to pieces as they were catalogued, and are merely tags to take one to the individual database entries, with no significance in themselves—two pieces, which in a print catalogue might have contiguous numbers, could be more than 2,000 numbers away in the LSA database.

In the chapters that follow, in discussing broad trends, overall numbers of different types of material are presented, sometimes in the form of bar charts. We are confident that these numbers and graphs are essentially accurate, and they form an important part of the argument of this book. But we would never claim that the precise numbers given are absolutely correct. Inevitable uncertainties, particularly around precise datings, mean that all numbers are necessarily approximations. The charts should be seen, then, as indicating broad trends rather than precise numbers. Finally, in order to achieve consistency and avoid any ambiguity in our empire-wide survey, we have used the Latin forms for all names of people and places, both in the database and in this volume, although, in a different context, a Greek form might be more appropriate.

For the most part, the authors of the chapters that follow see eye to eye; but inevitably there are some disagreements over detail. We have not attempted to iron these out, preferring to leave it to the readers to decide which interpretations of the evidence they prefer.

We have been helped greatly in the preparation of this volume. Olympia Bobou read the whole text, made the references consistent, and prepared the consolidated bibliography. She also did much of the picture research, acquiring photos where possible of the pieces illustrated. Rick Taylor also read the text, checking LSA citations

Silvia Orlandi (Sapienza Università di Roma), Charlotte Roueché (King's College London), and Erkki Sironen and Heikki Solin (both University of Helsinki).

⁶ As an insurance policy, reference to a primary publication for each LSA item can also be found, as mentioned above, in the Concordance at the end of the volume.

and number totals cited in notes and bar charts. Julia Lenaghan also checked the text for number inconsistencies, made the maps (with Michael Athanson of the Bodleian Library) and all the bar charts, and assembled all the illustrations for the volume. We are enormously grateful to them for their care, attention, and sharp observation—holding us to a high standard of presentation and accuracy.

R. R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins
Oxford, December 2013

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxvii
<i>The contributors</i>	xxxiii

1. Statue practice in the late Roman empire: numbers, costumes, and style <i>R. R. R. Smith</i>	i
2. Statues at the end of antiquity: the evidence of the inscribed bases <i>Bryan Ward-Perkins</i>	28

REGIONS

3. Italy <i>Carlos Machado</i>	43
4. North Africa <i>Gabriel de Bruyn and Carlos Machado</i>	56
5. Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia <i>Christian Witschel</i>	69
6. Danube provinces and north Balkans <i>Ulrich Gehn and Bryan Ward-Perkins</i>	80
7. Greek mainland and islands <i>Ulrich Gehn</i>	87
8. Asia Minor <i>Julia Lenaghan</i>	98
9. Egypt, the Near East, and Cyprus <i>Ulrich Gehn and Bryan Ward-Perkins</i>	109

CITIES

10. Rome <i>Carlos Machado with Julia Lenaghan</i>	121
11. Constantinople <i>Ulrich Gehn and Bryan Ward-Perkins</i>	136
12. Aphrodisias <i>R. R. R. Smith</i>	145

13. Ephesus <i>Johanna Auinger and Alexander Sokolicek</i>	160
14. Corinth <i>Amelia Brown</i>	174
15. Athens <i>Ulrich Gehn</i>	190
16. Lepcis Magna <i>Francesca Bigi and Ignazio Tantillo</i>	200
17. Gortyna <i>Francesca Bigi and Ignazio Tantillo</i>	216

CHRONOLOGY, HONORANDS, STYLE

18. Third century, from Alexander Severus to Carinus <i>Silja K. M. Spranger</i>	231
19. Provincial governors and senatorial office-holders <i>Marietta Horster</i>	239
20. Women <i>Kathrin Schade</i>	249
21. Cultural heroes <i>Julia Lenaghan</i>	259
22. Re-use in fourth-century portrait statues <i>Julia Lenaghan</i>	267
23. Portrait styles <i>Marianne Bergmann and Martin Kovacs</i>	280
24. The end of the statue habit, AD 284–620 <i>Bryan Ward-Perkins</i>	295
<i>Concordance</i>	309
<i>References</i>	371
<i>Index</i>	399

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1 Map of late Roman empire and its provinces. LSA Archive (M. Athanson).	2
1.2 Late antique statue honours by century. Total = c.2000. Third-century honours are omitted. LSA Archive.	3
1.3 Categories of honorand in surviving bases and statuary. LSA Archive.	5
1.4 Evidence for all statue honours by region. Total = 2,436 (1,636 bases, 800 statuary). LSA Archive.	6
1.5 Sites with evidence for statuary in late antiquity. LSA Archive.	7
1.6 Inscribed bases per year for reigning emperors, 30 BC–AD 600. LSA Archive.	8
1.7 Inscribed bases per year for reigning emperors, AD 200–600. LSA Archive.	9
1.8 Forms of late antique statuary honour, new and re-used. Total = 700. LSA Archive.	10
1.9 Busts of man and woman. From Stratonicea. Fifth century. LSA 446, 447. Bodrum, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4.4.78 and 3.4.78. H: 72 and 67 cm. Casts, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie), Berlin. Photos: Museum, Berlin.	11
1.10 Head of statue of Fl. Palmatus. From Aphrodisias. Early sixth century, LSA 198. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 72-49. H: 30.5 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.	12
1.11 Costume choices for late antique statuary, new and re-used. Total = 188. LSA Archive.	14
1.12 Colossal bronze statue of emperor in cuirass. Probably from Constantinople. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 441. Barletta. H: 335 cm. After Delbrueck (1933: pl. 116).	14
1.13 Photomontage of nude statue of emperor with separately worked head. From Aquae Domitiana. Late third or early fourth century, LSA 2400. Aix-les-Bains, Musée Archéologique. H: c.170 cm. Photos: Museum.	14
1.14 Himation statue with scroll. From Aphrodisias. Fourth-fifth century, LSA 218. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. T587. H: 172 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.	15
1.15 Statue of Oecumenius in chlamys. From Aphrodisias. Late fourth century, LSA 150. Aphrodisias, Museum, inv. 79/10/179, 79/10/185. H: 191 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.	16

- 1.16 Statue of clean-shaven older man in toga. From Rome. Early fifth century, LSA 1068. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 896. H: 236 cm. Photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini. 18
- 1.17 Statue of clean-shaven younger man in toga. From Rome. Early fifth century, LSA 1069. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 895. H: 188 cm. Photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini. Neg. col. 07973 18
- 1.18 Head of clean-shaven man. From Corinth. Early fifth century, LSA 358. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-1977-13. H: 27 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (I. Ioannidous and L. Bartzioti). 22
- 1.19 Bust of clean-shaven man. From modern Naoussa. Early fifth century, LSA 90. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1061. H: 72 cm. Photo: Photographic Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, AFME 133 A-Δ. (M. Skiadaresis). 22
- 1.20 Head of bearded man. From Sardis. Fifth century, LSA 318. Manisa, Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum, inv. 1674. H: 30 cm. Photo: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University. 24
- 1.21 Shield portrait of long-bearded philosopher. From Aphrodisias. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 207. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. 81-112. H: 70.5 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 25
- 1.22 Head of emperor wearing diadem, for insertion in statue. Constantinople. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 337. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 5028. H: 32.5 cm. Photo: LSA Archive 25
- 2.1 Different styles of inscribed bases for late antique statue honours. LSA Archive (A. Wilkins) 30
- 2.2 Evidence for late antique statue honours throughout Roman Empire. LSA Archive. 38
- 3.1 Italy. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive. 44
- 3.2 Italy (including Rome). Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty. Total = 555 (omitted are 153 undated or undatable bases). LSA Archive. 45
- 3.3 Italy (excluding Rome). Inscribed bases and surviving statuary by province. Total = 402. LSA Archive. 46
- 3.4 Italy (excluding Rome). Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 288 (omitted are 46 bases for honorands of unknown or unstated status). LSA Archive. 47
- 3.5 Inscribed base, re-used four times. From Luna. For statue of Galerius (293-305), for statue of Maxentius (307) (LSA 1618, 1619), and previously for Magnia Urbica and a local man. La Spezia, Museo Archeologico. H: 82.5 cm. Photos: Museum. 48

- 3.6 Base for statue of L. Tiberius Maefanas Basilius, local notable. From Clusium. Early fourth century, LSA 1623. Chiusi, Museo Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Photo: LSA Archive, with permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana, Firenze. 49
- 3.7 Italy (excluding Rome). Those awarding statue honours, as recorded on inscribed bases. Total = 280. LSA Archive. 50
- 3.8 Base for statue of Constantius I. From Mutina. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 1615. Modena, Museo Lapidario Estense. H: 148 cm. Photo: Archivio Fotografico della SBSAE di Modena e Reggio Emilia, with permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. 51
- 3.9 Base for statue of Q. Fl. Maesius Lollianus, with detail of inscription. From Puteoli. 334-42, LSA 47. Castello di Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, inv. 320498 H: 148 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 52
- 4.1 North Africa. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive. 57
- 4.2 Base for statue of Constantius I, Cuicul. 301-2, LSA 2241. Cuicul, Old Forum. H: 109 cm. Photo: <http://cil.bbaw.de/testo6/bilder/datenbank/PH0008213.jpg> 58
- 4.3 Base for statue of unstated subject. From Neapolis (Africa Proconsularis). 400-401, LSA 2452. Tunis, Bardo Museum. H: 135 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 58
- 4.4 Male portrait heads. From Tipasa (L) and Carthage (R). Fourth century, LSA 2388 and 1060. Algiers, Museum, and Carthage, National Museum. H: (both) 26 cm. After P. Wuilleumier, Musée d'Alger. Supplément. Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie (Paris 1928), pl. 7.3, and A. Ballu, 'Fouilles archéologiques d'Algérie en 1905', *Bulletin archeologique* 1906, pl. 91. 59
- 4.5 North Africa. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty and yearly average. Total = 301. LSA Archive. 59
- 4.6 Provinces of Numidia, Africa Proconsularis, and Byzacena. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive (M. Athanson). 60
- 4.7 North Africa. Evidence for late antique statue honours by province. Total = 400. LSA Archive. 61
- 4.8 North Africa. Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 326. LSA Archive. 62
- 4.9 North Africa. Those awarding statues recorded on bases for members of imperial family. Total = 226. LSA Archive. 65
- 5.1 Western Europe. Cities and sites with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive. 70

- 5.2 Base for statue of Diocletian. Augusta Vindelicorum. 290, LSA 2643. Augsburg, Römisches Museum, inv. 54. H: 116 cm. Photo: Museum. 72
- 5.3 Base for statue of Nummius Aemilianus Dexter. From Barcino. 379–87, LSA 1989. Barcelona, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, inv. 7563. H: 96 cm. Photo: Museum. 73
- 5.4 Columnar base with painted dedication to Licinius. From Singili Barba. 308–24, LSA 2006. Antequerra, Municipal Museum. H: 73 cm. After E. Serrano Ramos and P. Rodríguez Oliva, 'Tres nuevas inscripciones de Singilia Barba (El Castillon, Antequera, Malaga)', *Baetica* 11 (1988), 253, fig. 4 and pl. 3. 74
- 5.5 Head of diademed emperor with sideburns. From Augusta Treverorum (Trier). Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 584. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 1898.306. H: 38.5 cm. Photo: Museum. 76
- 5.6 Head of man with light beard. From Séviac. Late fourth century to early fifth century, LSA 1666. Musées Abbaye de Flaran. Valence-sur-Baise. Photo: Museum. 76
- 6.1 Danube provinces and north Balkans. Cities and sites with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive (M. Athanson). 81
- 6.2 Danube provinces and north Balkans. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty. Total = 31. 81
- 6.3 Head of man with short-cropped hair and short beard. From Oescus. 284–305, LSA 1050. Sofia, National Museum, inv. 693. H: 29 cm. After L'Orange (1984: pl. 22b). 82
- 6.4 Head of tetrarch wearing wreath with busts. From Felix Romuliana. Early fourth century, LSA 845. Zajëčar, National Museum, inv. 1477. H: 35 cm. Cast (H 71), Ashmolean Museum. Photo: LSA Archive. 83
- 6.5 Head of man with light beard. From Aquincum (Valeria). Fourth century, LSA 1054. Budapest, Aquincum Museum. After Polenz and Polenz (1986: 122, fig. 34). 84
- 6.6 Base for statue of Constantine II. From Ulpia Augusta Traiana. 337–40, LSA 1665. H: 180 cm. After E. Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* (Vienna: Hölder, 1906), no. 75. 85
- 6.7 Base for statue set up by *primipilarii*. From Novae. 432, LSA 1103. Novae, Lapidarium, inv. 63/97w. H: 33 cm. After Sarnowski (2005: no. 3). 85
- 7.1 Greece and islands. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive (M. Athanson). 88
- 7.2 Greece and islands. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty. Total = 114. The numbers for 379–408 include 16 statues associated with Asclepiodotus, governor of Creta. LSA Archive. 90
- 7.3 Headless statue of man in toga. From Athens. Later fifth century, LSA 143. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. S 657. H: 133 cm. Photo: American School for Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. 94

- 7.4 Bronze head of emperor. From Metropolis. Early fourth century, LSA 2432. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. A14395. H: 23 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (G. Deligiannakis). 96
- 7.5 Head in 'Iamblichus type'. From Eleusis. Mid- to later third century, LSA 116. Elefsina, Archaeological Museum, inv. 5144. H: 30 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund. 96
- 7.6 Head in 'Iamblichus type'. From Epidauros. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 115. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 582. H: 32 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (D. Yalouris). 96
- 8.1 Asia Minor. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive (M. Athanson). 99
- 8.2 Asia Minor. Inscribed bases (total = 270) and surviving statuary (total = 235) by century. LSA Archive. 99
- 8.3 Western Asia Minor. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive (M. Athanson). 100
- 8.4 Asia Minor. Cities with five or more records of late antique statue honours. LSA Archive. 101
- 8.5 Asia Minor. Dated bases for imperial statues. Total = 128. LSA Archive. 101
- 8.6 Asia Minor. Categories of honorand recorded on inscribed bases. Total = 265. LSA Archive. 102
- 8.7 Head of clean-shaven man with staurogram inscribed on top (front of head is at top of photograph). From Side. Later fourth century, LSA 252. Side, Museum, inv. 116. H: 31 cm. Photos: Aytekin Uzar. 102
- 8.8 Three portraits recarved in the late third to fourth century. (a) From Assos, LSA 2521. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Depot 4. H: 41 cm. (b) From Afyon, LSA 297. Bursa, Museum, inv. 200. H: 35.5 cm. (c) From Nicomedia, LSA 298. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4864. H: 35.5 cm. Photos: (a) after *IR* II, pl. 17; (b) after *IR* I, pl. 39.1; (c) LSA Archive. 103
- 8.9 Head of man. From Hierapolis. Mid to later fourth century, LSA 2502. Hierapolis, Museum, inv. T-543 = H 56. H: 31.5 cm. Photo: Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hierapolis. 104
- 8.10 Head of man with long beard. From Assos. Fifth century, LSA 363. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 84.65. H: 28.7 cm. Photo: Museum. 106
- 8.11 Male portrait heads of early sixth century. (a) From Sardis, exc. inv. S 66.24 7246. H: 39 cm, LSA 1098. (b) From Metropolis, exc. inv. HY.09-15. H: 35 cm, LSA 2304. (c) From Bayramiç, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2061. H: 21 cm, LSA 412. Photos: (a) Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University; (b) Metropolis Excavations; (c) LSA Archive. 107

- 9.1 Egypt, Near East, and Cyprus. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity. LSA Archive (M. Athanson). 110
- 9.2 Egypt. Dated statue bases and textual references. Total = 26. LSA Archive. 111
- 9.3 Luxor (Thebes). Plan of New Kingdom temple complex with Roman camp. After U. Monneret de Villard, 'The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor', *Archaeologia* (Society of Antiquaries of London) 95 (1953), 85-105, pl. 34. 112
- 9.4 Under-life-size porphyry statue in chlamys. From Alexandria. Fourth century, LSA 1007. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. H: 94 cm. Photo: Museum. 114
- 9.5 Near East. Dated bases and textual evidence for statue honours by imperial dynasty. Total = 53. LSA Archive. 115
- 9.6 Head of emperor wearing *corona civica*. From Philippopolis. Later third century, LSA 2312. Shahba, Museum. H: 31.5 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 116
- 9.7 Head of Theodosian emperor. From Batna (Syria). Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 754. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. H: 29 cm. Photo: Museum. 116
- 9.8 Statue of man in short chlamys with sword. From Caesarea Maritima. Fourth to fifth century, LSA 2839. Kibbutz Sdot-Yam, Archaeological Museum, inv. IAA 92-658. H: 177.5 cm. Photo: Israel Antiquities Authority. 117
- 10.1 Rome. Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 269. (Omitted are 86 whose status is unknown or not mentioned.) LSA Archive. 122
- 10.2 Rome. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty and yearly average. Total = 295. LSA Archive. 124
- 10.3 Base for equestrian statue of Constantius II, Rome. 352-3, LSA 838. Roman Forum, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 12442. H: 180 cm. Photos: (a) with permission of and (b) Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali del Turismo-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 126
- 10.4 Base for statue dedicated to the *Fides* and *Virtus* of the emperor's soldiers, Rome. 406, LSA 1363. Roman Forum, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 12436. H: 230 cm. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali del Turismo-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 127
- 10.5 Base for statue of Roma, erected by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the annona, Ostia. Late fourth century, LSA 1662. Ostia Antica, near Theatre, H: 114 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 129
- 10.6 Ostia. Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 15. LSA Archive. 129

- 10.7 Base for gilded bronze statue of Fl. Olbuius Auxentius Draucus, prefect of the City. From Rome. 425-50, LSA 1407. Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. 22647. H: 167 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 130
- 10.8 Colossal portrait of Maxentius in 'Dresden-Stockholm' type. From Italy. Early fourth century, LSA 896. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Hm 406. H: 61.7 cm. After H. Protzmann (ed.), *Die Antiken im Albertinum. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Skulpturensammlung* (Mainz, 1993), 66-7, no. 36. 131
- 10.9 Reconstruction of bronze portrait head of Valens (or Valentinian I). From Rome. 366-7, LSA 580. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 55052. H: 22.5 cm. After G. Dehn, 'Die Bronzefunde bei Ponte Sisto', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 26 (1911), pl. 13. 133
- 10.10 Statue of Jupiter set up by Neratius Palmatus. From Rome. Early fifth century, LSA 2538. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. H: 180 cm. After L. Jacopi, 'La statua dell'egioco Giove vimino', *Bollettino d'arte* 65 (1980), 15, fig. 4. 134
- 10.11 Fragmentary head of man with inset pupils and under-chin beard. From Rome. Early sixth century, LSA 1079. Rome, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, inv. 1. H: 16 cm. Photo: Faraglia, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 8077. 134
- 11.1 Constantinople. Types of evidence for statue monuments. LSA Archive. 136
- 11.2 Headless togate statue. From Constantinople. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 1033. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4417. H: 122 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 139
- 11.3 Bust of long-haired man wearing fillet, himation, and chiton. From Constantinople. Fourth century, LSA 375. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2461. H: 57.5 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 139
- 11.4 Shield portrait of evangelist or apostle. From Constantinople. Later fourth to fifth century, LSA 2416. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 930. H: 69 cm. Photo: LSA Archive. 139
- 11.5 Column for statue of emperor Marcian, Constantinople. 450-52, LSA 2461. Istanbul, Kıztaşı Caddesi, H: 16.52 m. After J. Pardoe and W. H. Bartlett, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London, 1838), pl. 48 (drawing by W. H. Bartlett, engraving by H. Adlard). 142
- 12.1 Aphrodisias. City centre with find locations of late antique statues and bases. New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 147
- 12.2 Aphrodisias. Categories of honorand recorded in imperial-period and late antique bases. Total = 305 imperial-period, 40 late antique. LSA Archive. 148
- 12.3 Statue of boxer Candidianus with upper part of base. From Aphrodisias. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 545 and 547. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 67-287, 67-288, 68-400. H: 174 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 150

- 12.4 Statue of emperor in toga (Arcadius or Valentinian II). From Aphrodisias. 388–92, LSA 163. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2264. H: 188 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 150
- 12.5 Himation statue, re-used for governor Alexandros. From Aphrodisias. Fourth century, LSA 152. Aphrodisias, Museum, inv. 79/10/203+208. H: 160 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 151
- 12.6 Statue of Fl. Palmatus in toga. Early sixth century, LSA 198. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 72–49. H: 201.5 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 152
- 12.7 Himation statue (headless) holding codex. From Aphrodisias. Fourth–fifth century, LSA 215. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 83–69 and 87–3. H: 192 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 153
- 12.8 Himation statue of early imperial period with cutting at neck for new late antique head. From Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 11–75. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 154
- 12.9 Bust of long-haired, bearded man. From Aphrodisias. Late fourth century, LSA 203. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 81–112. H: 65.5 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 155
- 12.10 Male portrait head, with repaired nose, found in 2011. From Aphrodisias. Early sixth century. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 11–38. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 157
- 13.1 Base and seated statue of Scholastica, Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 741–2. Ephesus, Baths of Scholastica. H: 246 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 161
- 13.2 Inscribed console for bust of Eutropius, Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 611. Ephesus, Marble Street. H: 32 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 162
- 13.3 Bust of Eutropius. From Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 690. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. I 880. H: 29.5 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 162
- 13.4 Base and statue of doctor Alexander, Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 735, 736. Ephesus, Embolos. H: 327 cm. 164
- 13.5 Cuirassed statue of Constantius II or Constans. From Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 1122. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 7. H: 160 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 164
- 13.6 Cuirassed statue of Constans or Constantius II. From Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 1123. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 6. H: 134 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 165
- 13.7 Head on togate statue, perhaps of Stephanus. From Ephesus. Sixth century(?), LSA 698. Selçuk, Ephesus Museum, inv. 1402. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 166

- 13.8 Ephesus. City plan, main public areas. Find places of statues are in grey. Plan by C. Kurtze, adapted by J. Auinger and A. Sokolicek. OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 167
- 13.9 Ephesus. Curetes Street, showing positions of three statue monuments. OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 168
- 13.10 Himation statue re-used for governor Damocharis. From Ephesus. Mid-fifth century, LSA 728. Selçuk, Ephesus Museum, inv. 770. H: 186 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 170
- 13.11 Base for statue of Constantius II, Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 2079. Ephesus, Stoa Basilike, inv. 5322. H: 85.5 cm. LSA Archive. 171
- 13.12 Base for statue of Constans, Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 739. Ephesus, State Agora. H: 87 cm. LSA Archive. 171
- 14.1 Map of the Corinthia, showing positions of Ancient Corinth, harbours of Lechaem and Cenchreae, and sanctuary of Isthmia. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (Marchand and Herbst, 2006). 175
- 14.2 Corinth. Map showing monuments of Roman and Late Roman periods and course of Late Roman (LR) city wall. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (Herbst, 2003). 176
- 14.3 Corinth. Plan of Agora and surrounding area, with restored phase plans of buildings of second to fifth centuries AD. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (Herbst, 2003). 178
- 14.4 Base for anonymous governor of Achaëa, Corinth. Fourth century, LSA 58. Corinth, South stoa, inv. I-1752 and I-2264. H: 70 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations 179
- 14.5 Statue of *chlamydatus* holding *mappa*. From Corinth. Later fifth century, LSA 22. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-819. H: 180 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti). 180
- 14.6 Base for statue of Parnasius with clamp holes on front surface. From Corinth. Mid-fourth century? LSA 17. Corinth, Museum, inv. 1115. H: 102 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti). 182
- 14.7 View of preserved Lechaem Road adjoining Agora, from south. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations. 183
- 14.8 Head of bearded man ('barbarian'). From Corinth. Late fourth century, LSA 71. Corinth Museum, inv. S-1199. H: 44.5 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti). 184
- 14.9 Fragmentary statue of *chlamydatus*, with newly joined plinth and support. From Corinth. Late fourth century, LSA 21. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-314. H: 112 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti). 184

- 14.10 Base for statue of governor named Junior, Corinth. Mid-fourth century(?), LSA 62. Corinth, Lechaon Road, inv. I-19. H: 134 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations. 185
- 14.11 Torso of *chlamydatus*. From Corinth. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 15. Corinth, Museum, S-903. H: 94 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations. 187
- 14.12 Statue of *chlamydatus*, later reworked into threshold block. Later fifth century, LSA 80. Corinth Museum, inv. S-3788. H: 149.5 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations (J. Palinkas). 188
- 15.1 Base (front and back) for statue of Plutarchus. From Athens. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 134. Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. 10512. H: 61 cm. Photo: Museum. 195
- 15.2 Re-used herm honouring Iamblichus. From Athens. Late fourth century. LSA 135. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. I-3542. H: 50 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. 196
- 15.3 Head of woman with styled fringe. From Athens. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 2693. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 5257. H: 27.5 cm. Photo: Museum. 197
- 15.4 Head of young woman with slight smile. From Athens. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 2694. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 5262. H: 26.3 cm. Photo: Museum. 197
- 15.5 Head of young man with stubble beard, reworked from earlier portrait. From Athens. Mid-third to fifth century, LSA 2295. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. S 1406. H: 40.5 cm. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. 198
- 15.6 Head of bearded man, reworked from earlier portrait. From Athens. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 130. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. E.582/735. H: 37 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (A. Miliarakis). 198
- 15.7 Bust of bearded man wearing toga. From Athens. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 142. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 423. H: 56 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (D. Yalouris). 198
- 15.8 Bust of clean-shaven young man in himation. From Athens. Earlier fourth century, LSA 2091. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2235. H: 53.1 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (D. Yalouris). 198
- 16.1 Lepcis Magna. Plan of the central area with black squares indicating present location of late antique statue bases. F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 202

- 16.2 Monolithic third-century statue base in Proconnesian marble, re-used, Lepcis Magna. 394, 396 or 402, LSA 2160. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 145 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 206
- 16.3 Statue base, originally in three parts, of Pentelic marble, re-used, Lepcis Magna. Early fourth century, LSA 2202. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 104 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 207
- 16.4 Slender statue base carved in local limestone, Lepcis Magna. c.250-75, LSA 2194. Lepcis Magna, Macellum. H: 181 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 207
- 16.5 Re-used monolithic base with cavity for insertion of marble slab with later inscription, Lepcis Magna. Fourth century, LSA 2210. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 150 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 208
- 16.6 Re-used equestrian base turned into support for pair of imperial statues, Lepcis Magna. 352-4, LSA 2153. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 74 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 208
- 16.7 Severan-period column pedestal re-used as late antique statue base, Lepcis Magna. 324-6, LSA 2213. Lepcis Magna, Old Forum. H: 146 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 208
- 16.8 View of three honorific monuments in form of small tetrapyla, one made of re-used marble statue bases. Lepcis Magna, Macellum. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 209
- 16.9 High-imperial cuirassed statue with reworked portrait head. From Lepcis Magna. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 1126. Tripolis Museum. Photo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca sull'Archeologia dell'Africa Settentrionale (CDRAAS), Università di Macerata. 210
- 16.10 Lepcis Magna. East side of Severan Forum during excavation. Photo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca sull'Archeologia dell'Africa Settentrionale (CDRAAS), Università di Macerata. 211
- 16.11 Lepcis Magna. Plan of Severan Forum with present location of late antique statue bases. F. Bigi. 212
- 16.12 Marble base used four times, Lepcis Magna. Late third to fourth century, LSA 2198, and 364-7, LSA 2172. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 40 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 213
- 17.1 Gortyna (Crete). Plan of Praetorium with present location of late antique statue bases. F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 217
- 17.2 Gortyna (Crete). Chart of honorands belonging to Asclepiodotus' cycle. F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 219
- 17.3 Shaft of tripartite base re-used for Petronius Probus. Gortyna. 372-88, LSA 773. Gortyna, Praetorium. H: 123 cm. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 222
- 17.4 Parapet from nymphaeum re-used as statue support, Gortyna. Fourth to early fifth century, LSA 1177. Gortyna, Praetorium. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 222

- 17.5 Reconstruction of column pedestals re-used as statue bases in Gortyna Praetorium. F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 223
- 17.6 Re-used half-column drums with inscriptions carved on (a) the convex front (LSA 770) and (b) the flat rear (LSA 780). 382–3. Gortyna, Praetorium. H: 140 and 193 cm. Photos: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 224
- 17.7 Arrangement of inscribed supports within supposed monumental entrance to Gortyna Praetorium. Reconstruction based on De Tommaso's hypothesis. F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 225
- 17.8 Original position, within whole tapering column, of half-column drums subsequently employed as epigraphic supports in Gortyna Praetorium. F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 226
- 17.9 Socket for metal clamp cut on right side of LSA 770, Gortyna. 382–3. Gortyna, Praetorium. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 227
- 17.10 Sockets for feet of bronze statue cut into upper surface of shaft of tripartite base re-used for Petronius Probus, LSA 773 (see Fig. 17.3), Gortyna. 372–88. Gortyna, Praetorium. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 227
- 17.11 Sockets for feet of bronze statue cut in upper surface of column pedestal re-used as base for LSA 781, Gortyna. 382–3. Gortyna, Praetorium. Photo: F. Bigi and I. Tantillo. 227
- 18.1 Base for statue of Gordian III (238–44). From Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa. Cluj-Napoca, National History Museum of Transylvania, inv. I 604. H: 114 cm. Photo: Ioan Piso. 233
- 18.2 Base for statue of Cornelia Salonina (253–60). From Aphrodisias. H: 104 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 233
- 18.3 Bust of Julia Mamaea (222–35). From Rome. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. MC 457/S. H: 44.5 cm. Photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini. Neg. D. 189.81. 234
- 18.4 Bronze head of Gordian III (238–44). Bonn, LVR Landesmuseum, inv. 9132. Photo: Museum (Jürgen Vogel). 234
- 18.5 Statuary and epigraphic evidence for honours to emperors and imperial family members, AD 222–85, by reign. LSA Archive. 235
- 18.6 Honours to emperors and imperial family members (statuary and inscriptions), AD 222–85, analysed in periods of approximately fifteen years. LSA Archive. 236
- 18.7 Statuary and epigraphic evidence for honours to emperors and imperial family members, AD 222–85, by region. LSA Archive. 237
- 20.1 Wall mosaic showing empress Theodora and retinue. About 540. San Vitale, Ravenna. Photo: Bartl, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1975.1760. 251
- 20.2 Statue of empress Helena. From Rome. Early fourth century, LSA 965. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. MC 496/S. H: 123 cm. Photo: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini. Neg. F.06516. 252
- 20.3 Statue re-used by one Eubulion in honour of his mother-in-law. Fourth century, LSA 409. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 710. H: 189 cm. Photo: Museum (Ole Haupt). 253

- 20.4 Bust of woman. From modern Naoussa. Early fifth century, LSA 91. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1060. H: 76 cm. Photo: Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, AFME 87 A–Δ. (M. Skiadaresis). 253
- 20.5 Mosaic showing a woman at her toilette. Later fourth century. From baths at Sidi Ghrib. Tunis, Musée National de Bardo. Photo: Fabien Dany, www.fabiendany.com. 254
- 20.6 Ivory diptych of 'Serena'. Later fourth or early fifth century. Monza, Cathedral. H: 32.2 cm. Cast, Ashmolean Museum. Photo: LSA Archive. 255
- 20.7 Bust of woman. From Constantinople? Early fifth century, LSA 8. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 66.25. H: 53 cm. Photo: Museum. 255
- 20.8 Statue of an empress. From Cyprus. Early fifth century, LSA 568. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles. H: 78 cm. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. 256
- 20.9 Ivory relief panel of empress, probably Ariadne. c.500. Florence, Bargello, inv. Carrand 24. Photo: Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1942.0169. 256
- 20.10 Head of empress, probably Theodora. First half of sixth century, LSA 760. Milan, Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, inv. 755. H: 20 cm. Photo: Neg. D-DAI-Rom 4270. 257
- 21.1 Three late antique versions of Socrates' portrait. (a) From Ephesus, LSA 2107. Selçuk, Ephesus Museum, inv. 745. H: 31 cm. (b) From Civitavecchia, LSA 2633. Civitavecchia, Museo Civico, inv. 76. H: 29 cm. (c) From Welschbillig, LSA 2638. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 19131. H: 98 cm. Photos: (a) OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna; (b) Koppermann, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 62.194; (c) after H. Wrede, *Die spätantike Heremengalerie von Welschbillig* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), pl. 1.2. 261
- 21.2 Six late antique versions of Menander's portrait. (a) From Rome, LSA 2106. Musei Capitolini, inv. 566. H: 32 cm. (b) From Italy, LSA 2110. Lost. H: 30 cm. (c) From Rome, LSA 2019. Arthur M. Sackler Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1991.63. H: 55 cm. (d) From Ephesus, LSA 680. Selçuk Museum, inv. 755. H: 60.5 cm. (e) From Antioch in Pisidia, LSA 2111. Konya, Museum. H: 50 cm. (f) From Welschbillig, LSA 2640. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 19123. H: 98 cm. Photos: (a) LSA Archive; (b) Deubner, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 35.1511; (c) Christies London; (d) LSA Archive; (e) after W. Buckler, 'Monuments from Iconium', *Journal of Roman Studies* 14 (1924), pl. 7; (f) after H. Wrede, *Die spätantike Heremengalerie von Welschbillig* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), pl. 10.2. 262

- 21.3 Group of six shield portraits from Rome, with scrolls in background (restorations edited out). (a) Villa Albani, LSA 2511, H: 56 cm. (b) and (c) Villa Doria Pamphili, LSA 2287 and 2440, H: 50 and 53 cm. (d) Heidelberg, Archaeological Institute of the University, LSA 2441, H: 43.5 cm. (e) Boston, Arthur M. Sackler Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1991.63, LSA 2109, H: 55 cm. (f) Surrey, Doughty House, H: 49 cm. Photomontage: LSA Archive. 265
- 22.1 Four identified and externally dated statue monuments of fourth century. (a) C. Valerius Vibianus *signo* Obsequius. From Leptis Magna. c.303, LSA 2136, 2178. H: 300 cm. (b) C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius. From Rome. 324–37, LSA 903, 1266. H: 313 cm. (c) Q. Fl. Maesius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius. From Puteoli. 337–42, LSA 43, 44. H: 338 cm. (d) Virius Audentius Aemilianus. From Puteoli. 365–79, LSA 41, 46. H: 322 cm. Photos: (a) after Goette (1990: pl. 26.3) and Bigi and Tantillo (2010: pl. 11); (b) after Giuliano (1957: pl. 60); (c) and (d) after Zevi et al. (2008: 152, 151). 268
- 22.2 Externally dated imperial statues of the fourth century. Top row: (a) and (b) Constantine and Constantine II, Rome, 317–37, Rome, LSA 555, 559. (c) and (d) Constans and Constantius, 340–50, Ephesus, LSA 1122, 1123. Middle row: (e) and (f) and Julian, Valens 361–4, Aphrodisias, LSA 750, 196. (g) Valentinian or Valens, 365–7, Rome, LSA 580, 1072. Bottom row: (h) and (i) Valentinian II and Arcadius, Aphrodisias, 388–92, LSA 163, 165. Arrangement: LSA Archive. 269
- 22.3 Non-imperial male portraits of fourth century. (a) Governor. From Bulla Regia. 312–50, LSA 1130. Tunis, Musée du Bardo, inv. C 1019. (b) C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius. From Rome. 324–37, LSA 903, 1266. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10493–4. (c) Cethegus. From Rome. c.370, LSA 879. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, inv. 700. (d) Virius Audentius Aemilianus. From Puteoli. 365–79, LSA 46. Baia, Castello di Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, inv. 320474. Photos: (a) LSA Archive; (b) Neg. D-DAI-Rom 727IR; (c) LSA Archive; (d) after M. Napoli, 'Statua ritratto di Virio Audenzio Emiliano console della Campania', *Bollettino d'arte* 44 (1959), fig. 3b. 270
- 22.4 Togate statue, re-used in later fourth century with separately added and reworked head. From Rome, LSA 907. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 247. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e del Turismo–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 277
- 23.1 Heads of emperor and prince from northwest side of Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople. c.390. Istanbul. Photo: LSA Archive. 281

- 23.2 Heads of three men flanking right side of emperor on southeast side of Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople. c.390. Istanbul. After Bruns (1935: fig. 80). 281
- 23.3 Detail of wall mosaic showing heads of Justinian and two men to his left. About 540. San Vitale, Ravenna. Photo: Neg. D-DAI-Rom 57.1752. 282
- 23.4 Head of emperor from tondo with boar hunt on Arch of Constantine. c.315. Rome. After L'Orange (1984: pl. 32b). 283
- 23.5 Head of C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius. From Rome. 324–37, LSA 903. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10493. H of head: 28 cm. Photo: Neg. D-DAI-Rom 727IR. 284
- 23.6 Head of clean-shaven man (recut). From Ephesus. Early fourth century, LSA 683. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 563. H: 32.5 cm. Photo: OeAI (Austrian Archaeological Institute), Vienna. 285
- 23.7 Detail of ivory diptych of 'Stilicho', later fourth or early fifth century. Monza, Cathedral. Cast, Ashmolean Museum. Photo: LSA Archive. 286
- 23.8 Recut head of bearded man. From Aphrodisias. Later fourth to fifth century, LSA 200. Aphrodisias Museum, inv. 79/10/211. H: 28 cm. Photo: New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias. 286
- 23.9 Bust of clean-shaven man with lank hair. From Rome. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 1065. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 56199. H: 47 cm. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e del Turismo–Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 287
- 23.10 Head of man with engraved beard and lank fringe on tall brow. From Italy. Later fourth century, LSA 1074. Paris, Louvre, inv. MA 2168. H: 27 cm. Photo: Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Les frères Chazelle. 287
- 23.11 Head of emperor (Arcadius or Valentinian II). From Aphrodisias. 388–92, LSA 163. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2264. H of head: 21 cm. Cast, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie), Berlin. Photo: M. Bergmann. 288
- 23.12 Detail of terracotta diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, AD 408. Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung, inv. PStslg.inv. 1988.3002. Photo: Museum (M. Eberlein). 288
- 23.13 Bust of bearded man. Formerly Lansdowne Collection. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 450. Geneva, Ortiz Collection. H: 34.8 cm. After G. Ortiz, *In Pursuit of the Absolute: Art of the Ancient World* (Bern: Bentelli, 1996), no. 248. 288
- 23.14 Head of man with wreath, beard, and long hair. From Athens. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 1083. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 1313. H: 35 cm. Photo: Museum. 288

- 23.15 Head of man with long face and beard (Ostia-Vatican type). From Ostia. Fifth century, LSA 956. Ostia Antica, Antiquario. H: 41 cm. Photo: von Kaschnitz, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 29.567. 289
- 23.16 Head of bearded man. From Corinth. Fifth century, LSA 75. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-1454. H: 38 cm. Photo: American School of Athens, Corinth Excavations. 289
- 23.17 Head of man with fringe of snail curls and under-chin beard. From Ephesus. Fifth century, LSA 691. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. AS I 835. H: 22.8 cm. Photo: Museum. 290
- 23.18 Head of clean-shaven man. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 1186. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1977.656. H: 43 cm. Photo: Museum. 290
- 23.19 Head of man with short beard and hair combed forward. From Rome? Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 958. Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 618. Photo: Faraglia, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 33.1788. 290
- 23.20 Bust of clean-shaven man. From modern Naoussa. Early fifth century, LSA 90. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1061. H: 72 cm. Photo: Archive of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, AFME 133 A-Δ. (M. Skiadaresis). 290
- 23.21 Head of man from bust. From Stratonicea. Fifth century. LSA 446. Bodrum, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4.4.78. H (bust): 72 cm. Cast, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie), Berlin. Photo: Museum, Berlin. 292
- 23.22 Portrait of man from family of Theotecnus, cubicle 23, in catacombs of S. Gennaro, Naples. Photo: Catacombe di Napoli, Naples. 292
- 23.23 Bearded man wearing toga in tribunal at circus. Detail of ivory diptych of Lampadii. Earlier fifth century. Brescia, Museo Civico Cristiano. Cast, Ashmolean Museum. Photo: LSA Archive. 292
- 23.24 Head of bearded man with swept-back fringe. Athens. Fifth century. LSA 119. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2314. H: 28.5 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (D. Yalouris). 293
- 23.25 Eyes of three male portrait heads from Athens. (a) LSA 119 = Fig. 23.24. (b) LSA 131 = Fig. 23.26. (c) LSA 132 = Fig. 23.27. Photos: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (D. Yalouris and A. Miliarakis). 293
- 23.26 Head of thin-faced bearded man with short hair. From Athens. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 131. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2143. H: 29 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (A. Miliarakis). 294
- 23.27 Head of bearded man wearing wreath and crown. Athens, late second century or late antique(?), LSA 132. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2006. H: 43 cm. Photo: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund (A. Miliarakis). 294

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AE *Année épigraphique*.
 Aesernia M. Buonocore, *Molise: repertorio delle iscrizioni latine*, vol. 2: *Le iscrizioni: Aesernia*. Campobasso: Palladino, 2003.
 ALA C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, 2nd edn. <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/alaz004/>
 AnthGrec R. Aubreton and F. Buffière, *Anthologie grecque*. Paris 'Les Belles Lettres', 1928–2011.
 APJugosl *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien*. Frankfurt am Main: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 1988.
 ArchMThess G. Despinēs, T. Stephanidou Tiveriou, and E. Voutyras, *Katalogos glyptōn tou Archaïologikou Mouseiou Thessalonikēs*, I–III. Thessaloniki: Morphōtiko Hidryma Ethnikēs Trapezēs, 1997–2010.
 BAC *Bulletin archéologique de la Commission des travaux historiques et scientifiques*.
 CAG *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*.
 CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*.
 CIIP *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*.
 CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
 CILPBardo Z. B. Ben Abdallah, *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païenne du Musée du Bardo*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1986.
 CJ *Codex Justinianus*.
 CLRE R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, and K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
 Corinth VIII *Corinth VIII.1–3*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931, and Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 1966.
 1 = B. D. Merritt, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896–1927*.
 2 = A. B. West, *Latin Inscriptions, 1896–1926*.
 3 = J. H. Kent, *Latin Inscriptions, 1926–1950*.
 Corinth IX.1 F. P. Johnson, *Corinth IX.1: Sculpture 1896–1923*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
 Corinth IX.3 M. C. Sturgeon, *Corinth IX.3: Sculpture: The Assemblage from the Theatre*. Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies, 2004.

- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- CSIR-GB *Corpus signorum Imperii Romani: Great Britain*. I.3 = S. Rinaldi Tufi, *Yorkshire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- CSIR-OE *Corpus signorum Imperii Romani: Österreich*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. II.1 = G. Piccottini, 1968. *Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Virunum*. III.2 = L. Eckhart, 1976. *Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Lauriacum*. III.4 = N. Heger, 1987. *Die Rundskulpturen der Stadtgebiete von Aguntum und Brigantium*. IV.1 = E. Hudeczek, 2008. *Die Rundskulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Flavia Solva*.
- CTh *Codex Theodosianus*.
- Didyma II A. Rehm, *Didyma II: Die Inschriften*. Berlin: Mann, 1958.
- EA *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen*. Munich, 1893–1947.
- EE *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Rome: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1872–.
- ERCanosa M. Chelotti (ed.), *Le epigrafi romane di Canosa*. Bari: Edipuglia, 1990.
- Eun. V. Soph. Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*.
- GLICMar C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*. Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000.
- GLISardis W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis 7: Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, 1. Leiden: Brill, 1932.
- Gortina A. Di Vita, *Gortina*, I–VI. Padua: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1988–2004.
- Helbig W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1963–72.
- HEp *Hispania epigraphica*.
- IAM M. Euzennat, J. Marion, and J. Gascoü (eds.), *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, II: *Inscriptions latines*. Paris: CNRS, 1982.
- IAPh2007 J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007) <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>
- IBulgarien V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien*. Berlin: Akademie, 1964
- IC M. Guarducci and F. Halbherr, *Inscriptiones creticae, opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*. Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1935–50.

- IEphesos *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Bonn: Habelt, 1979–84.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- IGBR G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, I–IV. Sofia: Aedibus Typog. Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae, 1956.
- IGerasa C. B. Welles, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis The Inscriptions*. New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938.
- IGLPhilae É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1969.
- IGLTyr J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr*. Beyrouth: Ministère de la culture, Direction générale des antiquités, 2006.
- IGRRP R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*. Paris: Leroux, 1906–27.
- IGUR L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*. Rome: Istituto italiano per la storia antica, 1968–
- IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasien*.
- IKöln² B. Galster and H. Galster, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*. Mainz: von Zabern, 2010.
- ILA Bord. L. Maurin and M. Navarro Caballero, *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine: Bordeaux*. Paris and Bordeaux: Boccard and Ausonius, 2010.
- ILAfr *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*. Paris: Leroux, 1923.
- ILAlg *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1922–.
- ILANitiob. B. Fages and L. Maurin, *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine: Nitiobroges*. Agen: Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Arts, 1991.
- ILBulg B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones latinae in Bulgaria repertae*. Sofia: In Aedibus Universitatum 'Kliment Ohridski', 1989.
- ILGR M. Šašel Kos, *Inscriptiones latinae in Graecia repertae: additamenta ad CIL III*. Faenza: Lega, 1979.
- ILLPRON *Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum Indices*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986.
- ILN VI B. Rémy et al., *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise, VI. Alba*. Paris: CNRS, 2011.
- ILNovae J. Kolendo and V. Božilova, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)*. Paris: Ausonius, 1997.
- ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.
- ILTun A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1944.

- IMCCatania* K. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico di Catania: storia delle collezioni, cultura epigrafica, edizione*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2004.
- InscrAqu* J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, I–III. Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1991–3.
- IPortes* A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert: recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinoöpolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984.
- IR I* J. İnan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*. London: British Academy, 1966.
- IR II* J. İnan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: neue Funde*. Mainz: von Zabern, 1979.
- IRT* J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. In collaboration with S. Aurigemma, R. Bartocchini, G. Caputo, R. Goodchild, P. Romanelli. Rome: British School at Rome, 1952.
- IRT2009* J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. In collaboration with S. Aurigemma, R. Bartocchini, G. Caputo, R. Goodchild, P. Romanelli. Enhanced electronic reissue (2009), prepared by G. Bodard and Ch. Roueché, with new translations by J. Reynolds, maps by H. Walda and full illustration from the Ward-Perkins photographic archive of the British School at Rome. <http://irt.cch.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/index.html>
- ISalamis* T. B. Mitford and I. K. Nicolaou, *Salamis*, vol. 6: *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1974.
- ISide* J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum*, I–II. Bonn: Habelt, 1993–2001.
- IThespies* P. Roesch, *Les inscriptions de Thespies*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2007.
- IvMagnes* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: Spemann, 1900.
- IvPergamon* M. Fraenkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. Berlin: Spemann, 1895.
- Jul. Ep.* Julian, *Epistulae*.
- Jul. Or.* Julian, *Orationes*.
- Konst Berlin* M. Maischberger (ed.), *Konstantin in Berlin*. Milan: Olivares, 2006.
- LMCat.* I. Tantillo (text edition and commentary), F. Bigi (support description), and L. Del Corso (paleographical observations),

- 'Catalogo dei monumenti iscritti', in I. Tantillo and F. Bigi (eds), *Leptis Magna: una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana*. Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 2010, pp. 313–493.
- LSA* The Last Statues of Antiquity <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, I–VIII *Publications of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor*. Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Society, 1928–62.
- Mendel I–III* G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans: catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, I–III. Istanbul: Musées impériaux ottomans, 1912–14.
- MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum*. Auctores antiquissimi. Berlin: Wiedmann, 1887–1919. Repr. 1961–95.
- Milet VI* A. Rehm and P. Herrmann, *Inschriften von Milet*, VI.1–3: *Milet Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997–2006.
- MNR* A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo nazionale romano: le sculture*. Rome: De Luca, 1979–88.
- I.1* = *Sale di esposizione*, 1979.
- I.2* = *Ali del chiostro*, 1981.
- I.8* = *Aule delle terme*, 1–2, 1985.
- I.9* = *Magazzini: i ritratti*, 1–2, 1987–8.
- MusAlgetTun* *Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, I–XXII. Paris: Leroux, 1890–1928.
- I* = G. Doublet, 1890. *Musée d'Alger*.
- VII* = R. de la Blanchère, 1897. *Musée d'Alouï*.
- VIII* = R. P. Delattre, 1899. *Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage*.
- XV* = P. Gauckler, 1910. *Musée Alaoui (supplément)*.
- XXII* = P. Wuilleumier, 1928. *Musée d'Alger. Supplément*.
- MusChiaramonti* B. Andreae et al., *Museo Chiaramonti: Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, vols I–III. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995.
- NSc* *Notizie degli scavi*.
- Olympia V* W. Dittenberger und K. Purgold, *Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*, V: *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin: Asher, 1896.
- Parastaseis* A. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. Leiden: Brill, 1984.

- Patria* A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*. Bonn: Habelt, 1988.
- PLRE* A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–92.
- POG* G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*. 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1965.
- RECapua* L. Chioffi, *Museo provinciale campano di Capua: la raccolta epigrafica*, I. Capua: Museo provinciale campano, 2005.
- RIC* *Roman Imperial Coins*, I–X. London: Spink, 1923–2007.
- RIT* G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarracco*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975.
- Rut. Nam.* Rutilius Namatianus, *De redito suo*.
- SdOstia* Calza, R. (ed.), *Scavi di Ostia: i ritratti*. Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1964 and 1977.
 5.1. = *Ritratti greci e romani fino a 160 circa d.C.*
 9.2. = *Ritratti romani dal 160 circa metà del III secolo d.C.*
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SGO* R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber (eds), *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*
 I = *Die Westküste Kleinasien von Knidos bis Ilion*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1998.
 III = *Der 'Ferne Osten' und das Landesinnere bis zum Tauros*. Munich: Saur, 2001.
 IV = *Die Südküste Kleinasien, Syrien, und Palestina*. Munich: Saur, 2002.
- Sid. Ap. Ep.* Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae*.
- SIG* W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. Hildesheim: Olms, 1982.
- SupIt* *Supplementa italica*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1981–.
- Symm. Ep.* Symmachus, *Epistulae*.
- Symm. Rel.* Symmachus, *Relationes*.
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vienna: Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901.
- Them. Or.* Themistius, *Orationes*.
- TSalaminia-02* J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Testimonia Salaminia*, 2: *Corpus épigraphique*. Paris: Bocard, 1987.
- Vat I–III* W. Amelung and G. Lippold, *Die Sculpturen de Vaticanischen Museums*. Berlin: Reimer and de Gruyter, 1903–56.
- Villa Albani* P. Bol (ed.), *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Katalog der antiken Bildwerke*, I–V. Berlin: Mann, 1989–98.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

JOHANNA AUINGER is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Ancient History and Antiquities, Papyrology and Epigraphy of the University of Vienna.

FRANCESCA BIGI is currently a Researcher for the *Europeana Ancient Greek and Latin Epigraphy* project, on behalf of the British School at Rome.

MARIANNE BERGMANN is Director Emerita of the Archäologisches Institut of the Universität Göttingen.

AMELIA BROWN is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Queensland, Australia in the department of Classics and Ancient History.

GABRIEL DE BRUYN works at the Université de Caen, where he completed a Ph.D in 2014 on statue dedications in Roman North Africa.

ULRICH GEHN is a Researcher for the *Europeana Ancient Greek and Latin Epigraphy* project; he is currently working to integrate the 'Last Statues of Antiquity' material into the project.

MARIETTA HORSTER is a Professor of Ancient History at the University of Mainz.

MARTIN KOVACS is a Researcher in the Department of Classical Archaeology at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg.

JULIA LENAGHAN is the Mica and Ahmet Ertegun Aphrodisias Senior Researcher at Oxford University.

CARLOS MACHADO is a Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of St Andrews.

KATHRIN SCHADE is the scientific Curator at the Winckelmann-Museum in Stendal.

R. R. R. SMITH is the Lincoln Professor of Art and Archaeology at Oxford University and the Director of the excavations at Aphrodisias.

ALEXANDER SOKOLICEK is the Field Director of New York University's excavations at Aphrodisias.

SILJA K. M. SPRANGER recently completed a DPhil. in Classical Archaeology at Oxford University, on Roman statue honours in the third century AD.

IGNAZIO TANTILLO is a Professor of Ancient History at the Università di Cassino e del Lazio meridionale.

BRYAN WARD-PERKINS is a Lecturer in the Faculty of History at Oxford University, and Director of the Ertegun Graduate Programme.

CHRISTIAN WITSCHER is a Professor of Ancient History at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.

Statue practice in the late Roman empire

Numbers, costumes, and styles

R. R. R. Smith

INTRODUCTION TO THE LSA PROJECT

The 'Last Statues of Antiquity' project (LSA) has made a database collecting over 2,700 inscribed bases and items of statuary of the period c. AD 280 to c. AD 650: from the tetrarchy to the end of ancient statue use.¹ This was the last—and very interesting—phase of a more than 1,000-year history of 'classical' statue practice. It is a record primarily of public honours—portrait statues, busts, and shield portraits set up in honour of individuals for outstanding virtues, achievements, or benefactions.

Restored, relocated, or rededicated statues of divinities, heroes, and personifications are attested in inscriptions, but they are a small minority. The epigraphy of such 'restorations' is collected in the database (there are more than 150 relevant inscriptions, including some forty-eight Latin *curavit* inscriptions),² but not the surviving 'restored' statues themselves, which are difficult to recognize and count in a database

because they were so often redeployed without perceptible change. Indeed, we may surmise that many 'classical' statues of the Greek and Roman periods survive today because they continued to have some kind of late antique life, whether restored and moved to new locations or kept in their original locations.

In the same way as the restored divine statues, the new public portrait honours rest against a deep background of earlier honorific statues that were still in operation in the public sphere. In terms of production, the late statues are, of course, fewer than those of earlier centuries; but in terms of experience, they represent the continuation and modulation of a distinctive symbolic activity typical of Greek and Roman cities of the empire.

The LSA material is located primarily in the urban centres of the east and west that had been the greatest statue 'practitioners' in the high empire. We may call them 'statue provinces' or 'statue regions'. Some continued statue activity is attested in the quasi-private realms of villas, town mansions, and tombs; but most of the material is a record of political activity in the public zone of city life, the wide arena of urban display between the religious and the private spheres. At one level the statues are an index of urban activity, a crude index of

¹ At the time of publication the database included: 1,644 bases, 876 statuary, and 213 textual references. It continues to grow and change.

² Accessed in advanced search under 'Relocation and Repair Inscriptions', by selecting the button marked 'View only inscriptions recording relocation or repairs of statues'.

prosperity—this activity requires a good surplus. But chiefly they are an index of a continuing, autonomous culture of statue honours—the use of statues as symbols and focal points of political and social power.

In this perspective, statues were expensive personal markers through which flowed a range of relationships and interests between all those involved in a statue's birth and life: the initiator, the financial sponsor, the overseeing authority, the subject honoured, and all the local constituencies and audiences—peers, citizens, visitors. These participants were named and addressed in the carefully articulated texts inscribed on their bases. The statues represented the public role, moral character, and personal identity of the honorand, and as imposing monuments and extraordinary craft objects, they marked and gave visual power to the honour and its set of local relations. The inscribed base 'functionalized' the statue. Without an inscription, the statue became an ornament. The statue, for its part, endowed the inscribed honour with force, reach, purchase. Without a statue, the inscribed base was merely a civic record.

* * *

In this chapter, I look at the overall shape of the material collected in the LSA database, in particular the statuary, and at some preliminary historical results that it suggests. What are the major characteristics and tendencies of the portraits and statues in this period? And what are the leading points that emerge from the collection of all this material? This is the 'macro-picture'. The material is then interrogated in other chapters at the regional and local levels: Italy, Greece, Rome, Ephesus, Aphrodisias. I want to consider first the empire-wide LSA statistics, then the broad character of the surviving categories of statuary, and finally the choices and innovations in statuary costumes over the entire LSA period. In particular, the LSA collection allows a much sharper, more precise understanding of the emergence in statuary of the power costumes that are so distinctive of the period—the new toga and chlamys costumes.

NUMBERS: HONORANDS, REGIONS, PERIODS

We may first analyse the overall shape of the material (statues and bases) by time, place, and subject. Fig. 1.2 shows, in the vertical axis, the broad relation of surviving statuary (pale) to surviving inscribed bases (dark) and, in the horizontal axis, statue practice over time, with a very approximate division of the material into the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The story is simple: statue practice remained buoyant through the fourth century, was greatly reduced in the fifth century, and exiguous for most of the sixth century (except in Constantinople)—well before the 'last' last statues of around AD 600. The proportion of bases to statuary remains steady at about 2:1 (1,644:876), and is comparable to that of the first and second centuries. Although the sculptured material does not map directly onto the inscribed bases in the late antique or earlier periods, the proportion stays the same. In other words, not all the heads and statues come from monuments that stood on inscribed bases of this kind. Some are from villas, houses, and tombs, and some are from busts, few of which would have had inscribed bases. Many of the bases also carried bronze statues, now of

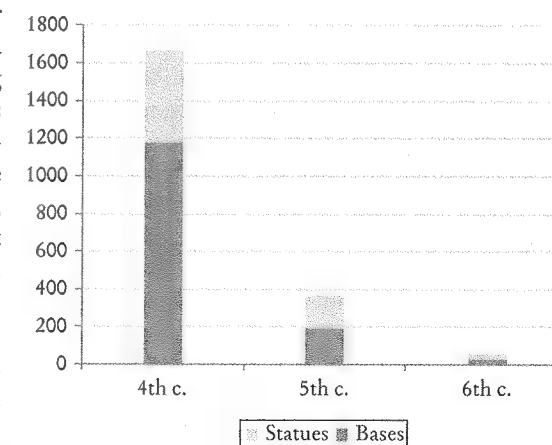


Fig. 1.2 Late antique statue honours by century. Total = c.2,000. Third-century honours are omitted.

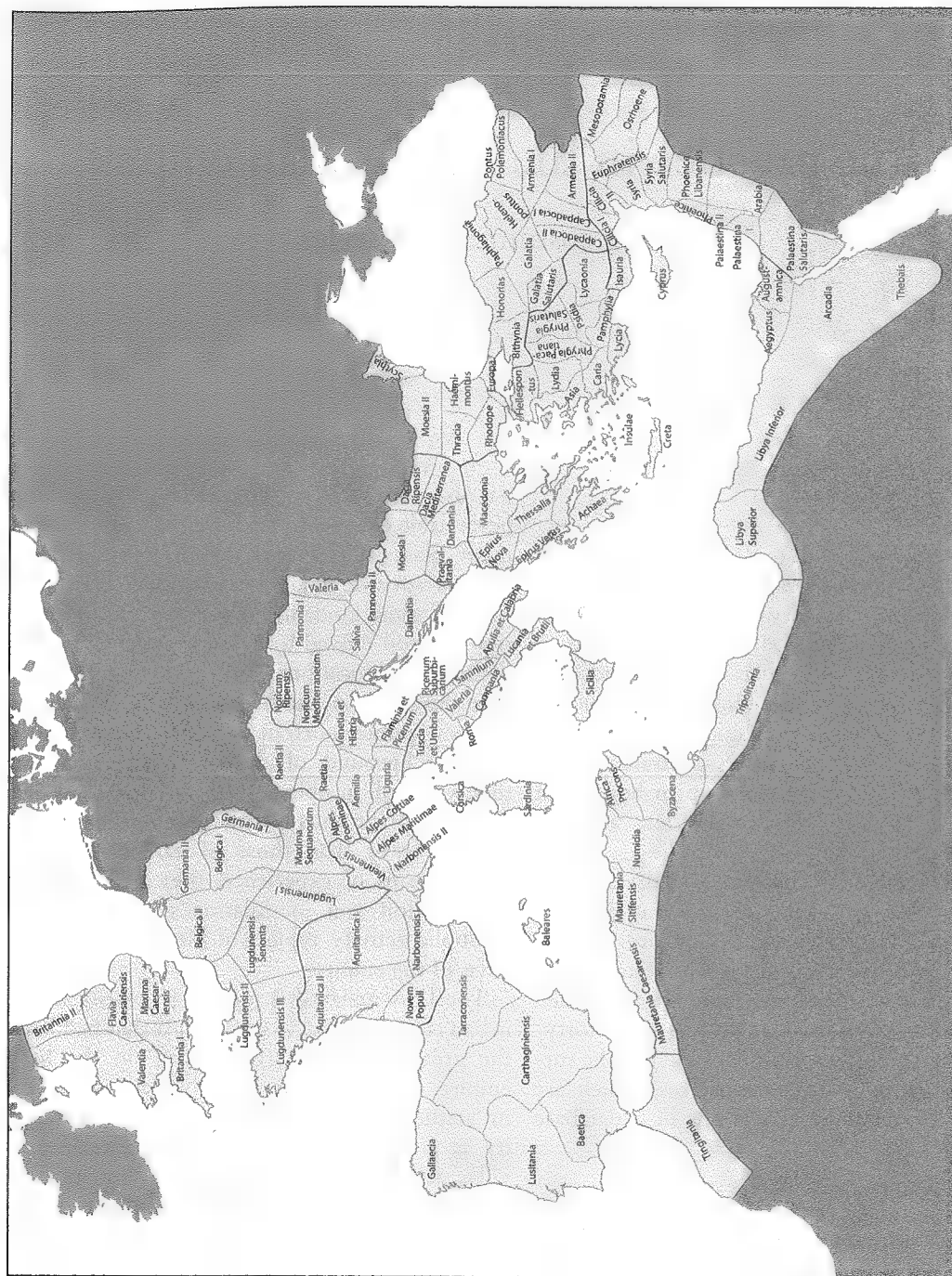


Fig. 1.1 Map of the late Roman empire and its provinces.

course mostly gone. This was true of earlier periods, and the proportion of bases to statues remains steady through the Roman and late antique periods. There remains a large and demonstrable overlap between the bases and much of the statuary. This is important: much of the surviving sculpture represents the kind of statuary that stood on the surviving bases.

Re-use

This proportion is unaffected by another major aspect of the material to which we will return often—that of re-use. It has always been well known that re-use was important in late antiquity. The LSA project is able to quantify it, demonstrate its different types and forms, and understand its varied purposes. Re-use was a highly varied and graded phenomenon, one that does not have a simple, single explanation. There was earlier re-use in building and sculpture, but more systematic re-use began in the tetrarchic period. It is, indeed, one of the defining features of our material. From the late third century, cities began to redeploy surplus old statue monuments whole, or, more commonly, in disaggregated parts, to make new honours. This was part of a great recycling process that saw some of the vast over-production of the high empire put to new uses.

It seems that virtually all the bases were re-used. They are old bases, or parts of old bases, with new texts cut on them. While much remained on view from the high empire, there was a corresponding reduction in the early honours on display—by perhaps 15 per cent, to judge by the proportion of late imperial honours to early imperial honours (500: 3600 = 13.8 per cent). In other words, if we assume purely *exempli gratia* that late imperial bases used exclusively redeployed early imperial bases, then some 500 imperial bases of the early period would have been taken out of service to provide bases for late honours. Bases were re-used because they were available and because bases that looked like 'classical' ones were what was wanted. Some statue monuments that we know in detail,

however, especially later in the fifth century, recombine old elements in a way that looks (to us at least) novel and surprising.³

Statues were also re-used in varied and interesting ways that we will come to. Here, we need only to note from the LSA material that more than half of the statuary was re-used (statues 50 per cent, heads 65 per cent, busts 30 per cent). Availability and economy were only two aspects among several. Re-use could supply good statues when their costumes and styles were those that were needed. Re-used statues were an effective means to a desired traditional/classical effect. In this perspective, they expressed continuity, not economy or laziness. Given the clearly huge availability of old and still effective statues, we need to be alert to the heightened purpose of statues newly carved from freshly quarried marble at, presumably, a very substantial extra cost. Here, the expression of different public roles and new costume types was crucial. This, we will see, was a highly charged and particular phenomenon. The same goes for heads: beyond new identity (important), what did a newly carved portrait head add to these monuments? Clearly something substantial.

Subjects, honorands

In terms of honorands—the subjects represented in the late statues—there are some obvious shifts in comparison with earlier practice. Fig. 1.3 shows the total LSA material analysed by category of honorand (imperial, central office-holders, civic notables, cultural figures, athletes, and women) with vertical bars again composed of extant statuary (pale) above extant inscribed bases (dark). The chart shows that during late antiquity, as a proportion of the total, emperors and governors increase in number and local benefactor elites go down, as do women and athletes. (The disparity between the large number of surviving statuary items for women and the low number of inscribed bases honouring

³ e.g. LSA 150 (Oecumenius) (Fig. 1.15) and LSA 198 (Palmaris) (Fig. 12.6), both Aphrodisias.

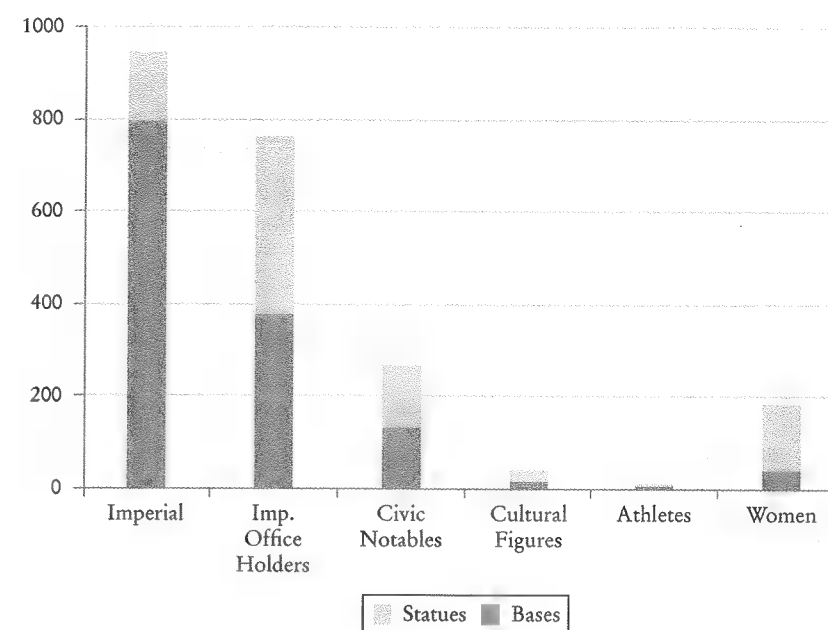


Fig. 1.3 Categories of honorand in surviving bases and statuary.

women should be explained, we shall see, by the essentially private context of female portraits, often in bust form, for which we would have no inscribed public statue bases.) This may be contrasted with the early period (e.g. at Aphrodisias, where the bases have been counted in this way) in which we find remarkably few imperial figures and central office-holders, a high proportion of civic notables, and significant numbers of athletes and, especially, women.

The proportions of different kinds of honorand are not steady through the late period: in the east, for example, local notables make a bigger comeback, relatively speaking, in what seems like a kind of 'Indian summer' experienced by some cities in the fifth century AD.

Regionality

The regional distribution shows perhaps the least change compared to that of the earlier empire (Fig. 1.4, again with 'pale' statuary above 'dark' bases, and also Fig. 1.5). Those areas that had

been abundant statue users in the early period continued in the late period: North Africa, Italy, Greece, Asia. Statues were part of a proud culture of monuments, and in wealthy centres such as Rome, Leptis, Athens, and Ephesus, large numbers were generated. In regions that had never really taken to this alien form of symbolic activity—Britain, Gaul, and the Roman Near East—numbers remained proportionately low. The western numbers are even more impressive than they appear because 'classical' urban life probably ceased to function there, outside Rome, much earlier (by 150 years) than the great eastern centres. There is another important feature to note: the relative proportion of statues and bases remains remarkably constant across the statue-using empire. North Africa and the Balkans, with little readily available marble, may have used more bronze. In North Africa, the low proportional statuary figure may also have to do with the much fuller publication of the epigraphic evidence of the region than that of its statuary.

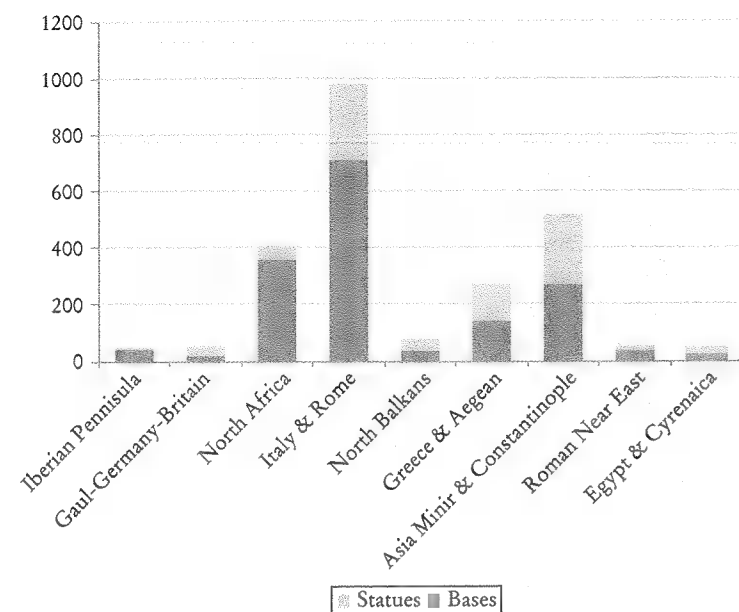


Fig. 1.4 Evidence for all statue honours by region. Total = 2,436 (1,636 bases, 800 statuary).

Chronology

The broad chronological shape of statue use as presented in Fig. 1.2 is clear: larger quantities in the fourth century, still a strong showing in the fifth century, and only sporadic use in the sixth century. The sharp withering of the whole statue habit soon after AD 500 is evident. New statues after 500 were exceptional: monuments such as the equestrian statue of Justinian in Constantinople (LSA 492 and 493) and Phocas in Rome (LSA 1313). The proportionately large quantity in the fourth century reflects a tetrarchic surge, massive statue use in Rome and central Italy, and the much more rapid decline of western statue honours in the fifth century.

How do these levels compare with those of the earlier empire? How can we assess change in time over the entire 600 years from Augustus to Heraclius? To do this, and to put a finer chronological filter on the material, we can take the constant and closely dated statue presence of the reigning emperor as a rough chronological

tracer, plotting statues per regnal year for reigning emperors (Fig. 1.6). This includes only the named, and thus datable, inscribed bases and excludes all imperial statuary which is for its largest part unidentified and undated. The chart also excludes any figures from the extended imperial family. That is, wives, Caesars (when non-ruling and so designated mainly to mark a successor), other sons, daughters, and other family members are excluded. This is of course slightly artificial: such figures made up a significant part of the imperial statue presence in the early empire, when it was important that the imperial house was presented as a family. In the late empire, fewer members of the extended imperial families, generally speaking, received portrait honours. So this weights the statistics in favour of the late antique numbers. They have a further 'advantage' in that there were simply more reigning emperors to honour and to count in late antiquity: for example, multiple-reigning Augusti and Caesars in the early fourth century, and multiple Augusti in the later fourth century.

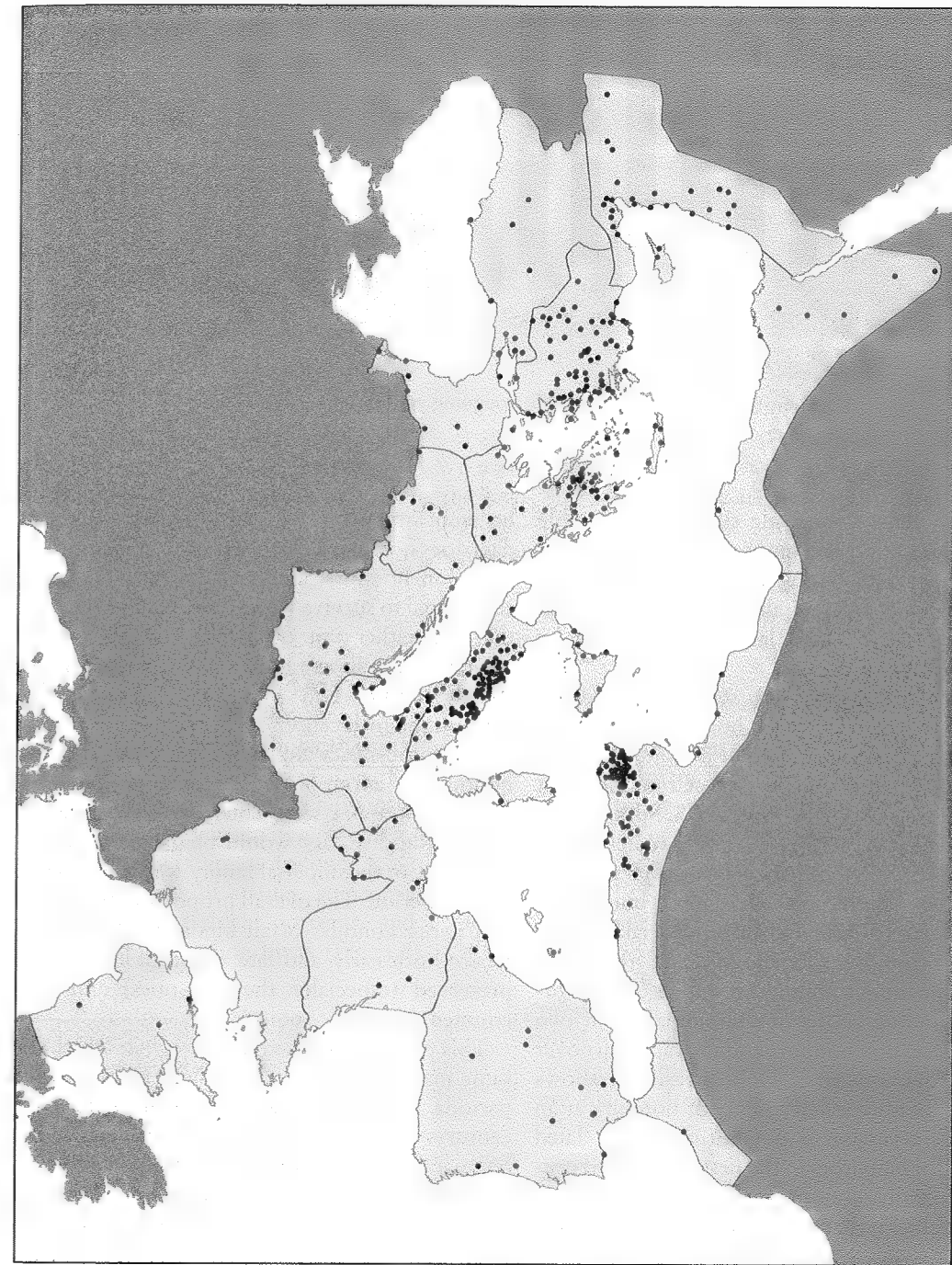


Fig. 1.5 Sites with evidence for statuary in late antiquity.

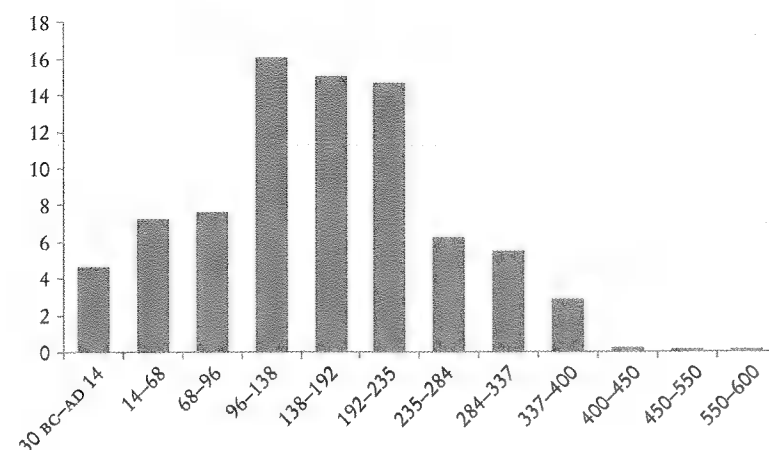


Fig. 1.6 Inscribed bases per year for reigning emperors, 30 BC-AD 600.

If the numbers were made strictly comparable (e.g. by excluding late antique Caesars and boy Augusti, or by including all family members on both sides), then the already sharp contrast between the early and late empire would be heightened much further.

Fig. 1.6 combines four separate bodies of research on the inscribed honorific bases for reigning emperors: the work of J. Højte on reigning emperors from Augustus to Commodus, of G. Petruccioli on the Severans, of S. Spranger on the third century, and of the LSA project on the material from 285 to 600.⁴ The chart shows a predictable Antonine-Severan peak but, much less predictably, a still-strong imperial portrait presence through the 'crisis of the mid-third century'. One might think this interesting third-century finding is due to a combination of two factors: accession honours and the rapid turnover of emperors. But first, Højte's research shows that the often-expected 'bulge' of honours at an emperor's accession is not borne out by dated honours for emperors in the first and second centuries; secondly, honours for ephemeral emperors who fell quickly in adverse circumstances would

⁴ Højte (2005); Petruccioli (2012); Ch. 18 this volume (Spranger).

be likely targets for re-use. The mid-third century data does not, in fact, look like an accumulation of accession honours, and the numbers had to be substantial to survive voracious re-use of honours that were either time-expired or revoked.

The figure shows still large numbers in the fourth century and a relatively sharp falling away in the fifth century. The overall proportion of second-century to fourth-century imperial honours is about 4:1. As noted above, if all imperial honours were counted (they have not been!), the disparity would be greater, since so much less of the imperial family was honoured in the late period. The overall proportion of early to late statue honours of all kinds at Aphrodisias, where both early and late statue bases are well preserved (especially the late ones) and well counted, is 7.5:1 (c. 300:40).

This picture is refined in Fig. 1.7, in which the same material is analysed in shorter, more equal periods, from c. AD 200 to the end of the sixth century. In this analysis, after the Severan peak, comparably high numbers are maintained to c. AD 400. The reduction in the fifth century remains evident, but we might note that 0.25 imperial statues per year and, perhaps, one statue per year of all kinds is at the level of, or well above, honorific statue production near the start of this

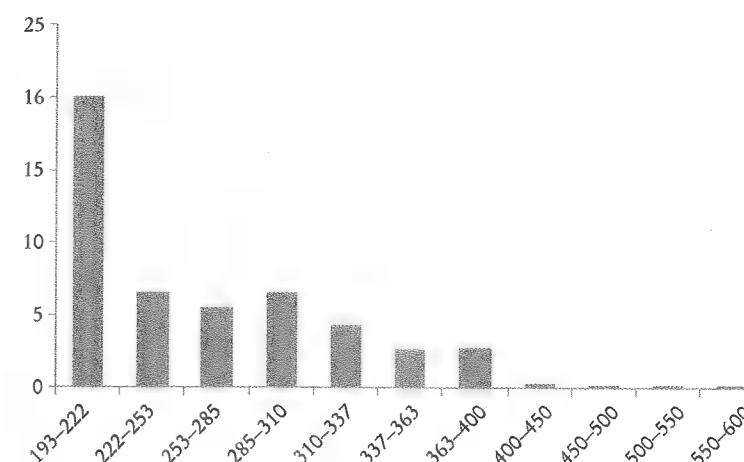


Fig. 1.7 Inscribed bases per year for reigning emperors, AD 200-600.

phenomenon in the fourth century BC.⁵ We may also remember that imperial statues in the late period make up a significantly larger proportion of the total (c.1:3) than under the early empire (c.1:9).

c.575 heads, some were certainly for insertion into statues (there are 65 sure, attested examples of such heads). The others could theoretically be for statues or busts; but given the low proportion of busts to statues (about 1:3), we should expect many more to be from statues.

SURVIVING STATUARY

I turn now in more detail to the surviving statuary. The LSA database has some 876 items of late antique statuary, for the most part of marble (there are only some ten items of bronze).⁶ Their relative numbers are as follows: 176 statues or substantial parts of statues, some 576 detached heads, about 30 shield portraits, and 65 independent, free-standing busts (Fig. 1.8).⁷ Of the

Shield portraits

The shield format, *eikōn en hoplōi* or *imago clipeata*—a portrait bust in high relief inside a round shield frame—was principally used in the late period to honour long-dead figures of Hellenic culture and philosophy (such as Socrates, LSA 208 and 2511, and Menander, LSA 238 and 2109) in more or less private contexts. A town mansion at Aphrodisias is the best such context (the 'Atrium House': LSA 206-14). The unusual preservation of Aphrodisias also distorts the survival figures: half of all extant late antique shield portraits come from this one site.⁸ The others too are mainly from the east (Constantinople and

⁵ 4th c. BC: see most recently Ma (2013). The figures, of course, exclude the literary attestations of statues in Constantinople, both because their evidential status is difficult to assess and because they constitute a different category of evidence not directly comparable to the statistics from elsewhere that are based exclusively on inscribed statue bases.

⁶ Main items of bronze, excluding small-scale and 3rd-c. pieces, are: LSA 368 (Adana), 441 (Barletta), 551 (Constantine, Naissus), 562 (colossal Constantine, Rome), 580 (Valens or Valentinian I, Rome) (Fig. 10.9), 738 (Ephesus), 759 (Naissus), 1072 (Rome), 1784 (Justiniana Prima), and 2432 (Metropolis, Thessalia) (Fig. 7.4).

⁷ Herm portraits are rare. The following are a few examples: a contemporary late antique herm portrait of one

Asklepiades in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, LSA 1269; a herm of cultural hero of the classical past, Isocrates, LSA 2442; and the decorative herms from the villa at Welschbillig, now in Trier, also of 'classic' figures of the past, LSA 1075, 2637-40.

⁸ Shield portraits from Aphrodisias: LSA 206-14 and 236, 238, 602-4.

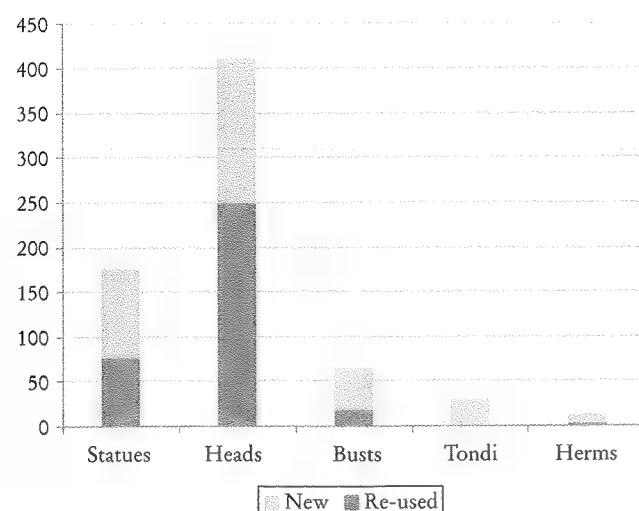


Fig. 1.8 Forms of late antique statuary honour, new and re-used. Total = 700.

Athens), and some are from Italy (Fig. 21.3).⁹ Some offer astonishing, revived, reimagined interpretations of 'classic' portrait types.¹⁰

Busts

Of the sixty-five busts, a third (nineteen) were earlier pieces re-used (they are often western). The others were new late antique busts, mostly eastern. The bust format was used for the highest-quality portraits the ancient world produced, and the late period continued this tradition. The maximum technical craft and surface effects that the best portrait sculptors of the period could offer were presented in busts. They were, again, mainly for private contexts and intended for close viewing. One of the largest single groups honoured in late antique busts consists of women, and they give a strong and immediate indication of the private function of other female portrait heads. The remarkable Theodosian-period bust in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, LSA 8 (Fig. 20.7) is an outstanding

example. In two eastern examples, from Stratonicea (LSA 446 and 447) and Thessalonica (LSA 90 and 91), a female bust was paired with a male bust, presumably husband-and-wife pairs (Figs 1.9, 1.19, and 20.4). Two recently published female portraits from the Makriani excavations in Athens are of the highest technical specification, and were most likely from busts in a domestic context representing a mother and daughter (LSA 2693 and 2694) (Figs 15.3 and 15.4).

There are a dozen varied busts wearing the traditional himation, and of these, some are portraits of 'classics' (especially Menander, LSA 2110 and 2111) (Fig. 21.2), while others are of civic notables and contemporary thinkers and 'culturati' (e.g. LSA 203, 375, and 450). Of busts wearing togas, eight, mainly from Ephesus and Athens, have new-style togas, while two, re-used and from Italy, wear the old toga.¹¹ If a buyer wanted a bust wearing a traditional-style toga, there was no point in having a new bust made. The new chlamys costume is worn only by three disparate busts, probably all highly placed

⁹ Constantinople: LSA 442, 2416–19. Athens: LSA 483. Some from Italy: LSA 2109, 2287, 2440, 2441, and 2511.

¹⁰ Such as LSA 213 (Alexander the Great) and LSA 206 (Pindar).

¹¹ Busts with late antique togas: LSA 142 (Athens); LSA 697, 707, 1095, and 1096 (Ephesus); LSA 1084 (Smyrna). Re-used busts with old-style togas: LSA 2102 (Arretium) and 1553 (Castle Howard).



Fig. 1.9 Busts of man and woman. From Stratonicea. Fifth century, LSA 446, 447. Bodrum, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4.4.78 and 3.4.78. H: 72 and 67 cm. Casts, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie), Berlin.

office-holders, as well as by one of a tetrarchic emperor in porphyry from Athribis, in the delta region of Egypt.¹² The busts, we will see, follow wider patterns of costume choice, discussed in more detail below.

Heads

While some separate portrait heads might have been parts of busts, the majority, as mentioned above, most likely belonged to statues. There are various reasons for this supposition. First, statues outnumber busts by 3 to 1; secondly, there are few headless busts but many headless statues; and thirdly, the technical character and quality of most of the heads qualify them better for statues. As noted earlier, some sixty-five heads survive with a tenon for attachment to a statue.

The c. 575 portrait heads are the most widely and evenly distributed part of the statuary

evidence—in geography, gender, and category of honorand. This is an unsurprising function of their quantity. The heads are distributed fairly evenly between the eastern and western statue areas. The western pieces congregate in the late third and earlier fourth century. The eastern pieces are more spread out chronologically and continue through the fifth century. About 65 per cent (370) of all the heads seem to have been re-used or made from earlier pieces. Many different forms of recarving are found: full restyling of face; change of hairstyle; change of beard style—often cut short or stubbled, and often pecked into the smooth surface of the older portrait; or minimal adjustment. Commonly only the eyes were recarved with typical new emphatic late antique pupil and iris markings. Since engraving the pupil and iris was often sufficient adjustment, we can be sure that using an earlier portrait entirely unadjusted was also possible, and that many portrait heads (like many statues) were redeployed as new honours without any new carving. This practice was already well attested during the

¹² Chlamys busts: LSA 447 (Stratonicea); 90 (Thessalonica); LSA 2282 (Tokat); LSA 836 (Athribis).

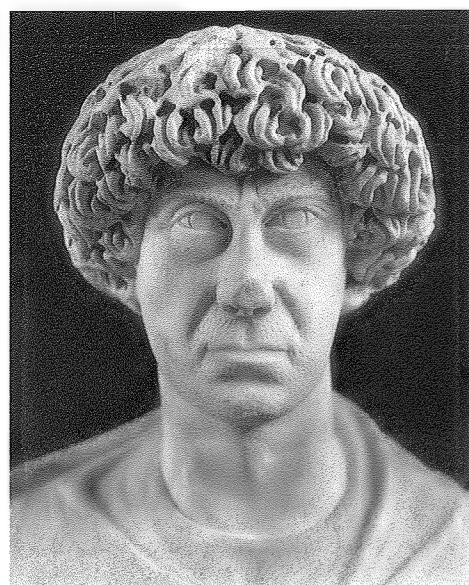


Fig. 1.10 Head of statue of Fl. Palmatus. From Aphrodisias. Early sixth century, LSA 198. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 72-49. H: 30.5 cm.

early period—most notably in Dio's famous speech to the people of Rhodes (*Oration* 31), which was devoted to this subject. Without precise documented contexts, it is not possible now to recognize such heads and statues that were re-used unchanged in the late period.

Re-use of heads was not a period-specific phenomenon. It is found more frequently in the earlier part of the LSA period because there are more heads altogether then. Re-use is encountered all the way through the LSA period into the fifth century. When old portraits that could supply the basis of what was needed were available, they were taken. Even within the late period, surplus late pieces became liable for later re-use—for example, Palmatus at Aphrodisias: LSA 198 (Fig. 1.10).¹³

Different categories of honorands are difficult to recognize among the heads—beyond emperors,

¹³ A carefully repaired head of c. AD 500, discovered at Aphrodisias in 2011, is also a good example: discussed in Ch. 12 this volume (Smith), Fig. 12.10.

intellectuals, old 'classics', and women. There are perhaps 20 per cent female heads (120:575), of which about two-thirds are from Italy and the west and about one third (twenty-five counted) from the Greek east—a striking figure, given that male heads maintain their numbers in the east (and into the fifth century). Among the males, about sixty are of emperors, and about twelve are intellectuals or 'classic' *culturati*. There remains then a large number of contemporary male portrait heads that should represent imperial office-holders and city notables (see honorand chart, Fig. 1.3, which has a proportional but arbitrary division of statuary items between governors and notables). Central office-holders and civic notables were members of the late antique urban elite, and we should expect their portraits to share styles and visual agendas. Civic notables, as much as governors, participated in the norms of intensified vision and moral seriousness that swept the late antique elite, along with broadly the same hairstyle fashions. While late emperors had innate sacred power, late governors and notables had superior *moral* power—they worked harder, saw further, and were more intensely just, stern, and pure than other citizens.¹⁴

Heads, chronology

Although a posited stylistic evolution of portrait heads is one of the most intense areas of scholarly interest and publication, the chronology of the portrait heads can, in fact, only be known in the broadest terms. Outside the few epigraphically dated monuments, the only verifiable criteria are, on the one hand, changing hairstyles and beard styles of contemporary fashion and elite self-styling and, on the other, new and changing sculptural techniques of the late portrait workshops. The material of the late third and early fourth century is generally recognizable by its short hair and stubble (there is a large quantity of such heads). Mid-fourth century pieces, from the later Constantinian to the Theodosian period,

¹⁴ On moral values of governors and notables, expressed in epigrams and portraits: Smith (1999).

can sometimes be recognized by their fringed hair. The short-haired and stubbled portraits might continue into the mid-fourth century, and the fringed portraits may begin already in the 310s.

Many later fourth-century and early fifth-century heads form a group that wear distinctive Theodosian-period hairstyles, well-attested and well-dated on the Constantinopolitan obelisk base of 388-92.¹⁵ The hair is brushed forward and into some form of 'crest' over the brow or some form of 'wreath' around the head (a few externally dated ivory diptychs also have portraits with these hairstyles).¹⁶ Portrait heads of this period tend also to employ distinctive techniques for carving eyes and hair. A diminishing number of portrait heads can be placed in the later fifth and earlier sixth century on the basis both of distinctive eye techniques and of their thick, new, fashionable 'mop' or 'helmet' hairstyles, probably Constantinopolitan. Fixed dates in this last period of continuous statue use are based on ivory diptychs, the Ravenna mosaics, and some loosely dated examples from Aphrodisias (such as the portrait of Flavius Palmatus, LSA 198) (Fig. 1.10).

Statues

Among all the sculptural evidence, the surviving statues are the most interesting and most important for our project. The database has some 175 life-size statues of marble or bronze, or substantial parts of such statues. Of these, some fifty have heads and about twenty—the most important—have bases that can be reliably attributed to them. There are ten from Aphrodisias (see Chapter 12, Smith), six from Ephesus,¹⁷ and six from the west.¹⁸ Best of all are the ten statues that

have both heads and bases. There are five from Aphrodisias: Julian, Palmatus (Fig. 12.6), Pytheas, Arcadius/Valentinian II (Fig. 12.4), and Oecumenius (Fig. 1.15), and five from elsewhere: Stephanus, Audentius (Fig. 22.1), Dogmatius (Fig. 22.1), Vibius Obsequius (Fig. 22.1), and an anonymous governor from Bulla Regia. About half of the 175 statues are re-used. Re-use and costume choice were, of course, closely connected phenomena. Costume choice was the single most important variable in a statue or bust. Each of the main choices signified a whole condensed set of evolving ideas about the honorand's role in life; and some of the most important costume choices, we will see, intersect in interesting and surprising ways with regional preferences and ideas.

STATUES AND COSTUMES

The bar chart of costume choices (Fig. 1.11) shows the relative uptake of the main male costume choices for honorific statues, analysed also by re-used and 'new' (i.e. newly carved) statues.¹⁹ Among about twenty-five statues of armoured commanders (mainly emperors), a full fifteen were made from re-used statues. Clear examples are the tetrarchs at Side and Perge (LSA 244, 2543, and 2544) and the Ephesus Constantinian figures set up by Caelius Montius in the mid-fourth century (LSA 1122 and 1123) (Figs 13.9 and 13.10). Nine cuirassed figures were newly made late antique pieces. The great Barletta Colossus is the prime example (LSA 441) (Fig. 1.12). Nudity swiftly lost currency as a power costume in the fourth century, and it is worn only by tetrarchic emperors, at Aixles-Bains in the west (LSA 2400) (Fig. 1.13) and

¹⁵ Obelisk base: Bruns (1935).

¹⁶ Ivory diptychs: Volbach (1976: no. 2); Spier (2003) on Anicius Auchenius Bassus, AD 408.

¹⁷ Stephanus: LSA 698 + 732. Damocharis: LSA 727 + 728. Alexandrus: LSA 735 + 736. Scholastica: LSA 741 + 742. Constans: LSA 739 + 1122. Constantius II: LSA 1123 + 2079.

¹⁸ Virius Audentius Aemilianus (Puteoli): LSA 41 + 46. Quintus Flavius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius (Puteoli): LSA

43 + 44 and LSA 1124 + 1909. Caius Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius (Rome): LSA 903 + 1266. Anonymous (Bulla Regia): LSA 1130 + 1184. Caius Valerius Vibius Obsequius (Lepcis): LSA 2136 + 2178.

¹⁹ The approximately 15 LSA statues of women (10 western, 5 eastern) make some new clothing choices that cannot be assessed properly here (jewelled belts, brooches). See Ch. 20 this volume (Schade).

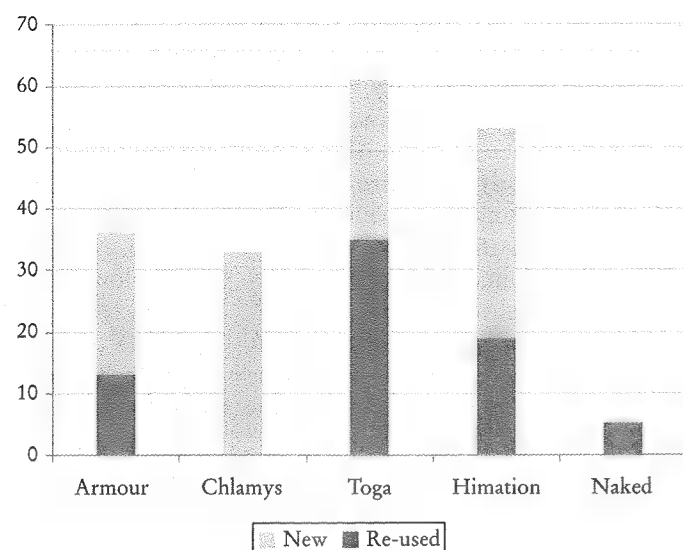


Fig. 1.11 Costume choices for late antique statuary, new and re-used. Total = 188.



Fig. 1.12 Colossal bronze statue of emperor in cuirass. Probably from Constantinople. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 441. Barletta. H: 335 cm.

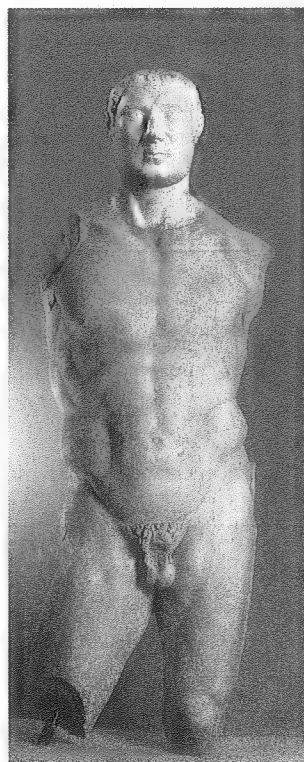


Fig. 1.13 Photomontage of nude statue of emperor with separately worked head. From Aquae Domitiana. Late third or early fourth century, LSA 2400. Aix-les-Bains, Musée Archéologique. H: c.170 cm.

in Side and Perge in the east (LSA 246 and 2542, both re-used), and by two professional athletes at Aphrodisias (boxers, heavily repaired, LSA 531 and 545) (Fig. 12.3). The other main costume choices were the himation, the chlamys, and varieties of the toga.

Himation

The himation was one of the most common statue costumes of the early and high empire, especially in the Greek east, where its tightly controlled types signified a bundle of detailed ideas about the well-disciplined citizen. It retained its force as an effective eastern city costume into the fourth and fifth centuries. There are some thirty examples in LSA.²⁰ The costume and its root significance remained unchanged, and huge surplus numbers were available from the earlier period. This meant that himation statues could be made from unchanged earlier figures. Some seventeen of the thirty examples were recycled virtually untouched except for the addition of a new head.²¹ It is perhaps surprising, then, that there are as many as four clear examples of newly carved himation statues of the fourth to fifth centuries.²² One of these is a new version of a traditional himation scheme with only slight adjustments that show us it is of late manufacture (sloping shoulders, gesture changed, LSA 218) (Fig. 1.14). The others introduce some special new feature or effect that made a whole new statue necessary or better—whether in terms of its attributes or posture (e.g. codex, Fig. 12.7, or seated figure: discussed further in Chapter 12, Smith).

²⁰ Counting life-size male statues and busts of contemporaries of 4th–6th c.: c.17 statues, c.13 busts. This excludes tondi and portraits of 'classic' figures such as Menander and Demosthenes.

²¹ Clear examples are the governor Alexandrus at Aphrodisias, LSA 152 (Fig. 12.5), and Damocharis and Alexandrus, the doctor, at Ephesus, LSA 728 and 736 (Figs 13.10, 13.4). See also LSA 81 and 2361 (both Corinth) and LSA 2292 (Athens). The recycling of himation statues untouched was surely a much larger phenomenon than we can now see.

²² Newly made himation statues: LSA 737 (Ephesus); LSA 155, 215, and 218 (Aphrodisias) (Fig. 1.14).

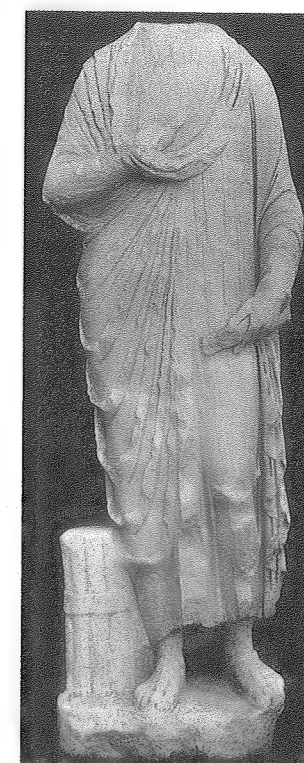


Fig. 1.14 Himation statue with scroll. From Aphrodisias. Fourth–fifth century, LSA 218. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. T587. H: 172 cm.

While the root significance of the himation and its basic forms and types remained the same, the world and its statues had changed greatly. The meaning of the himation costume now had (we may be sure) a new, sharper modulation. Beside the new chlamys and toga power costumes, it became even more the costume of local city politics as opposed to the costumes of the imperial centres and of imperial service. Himation wearers are at home, in their *patris*, doing home-city things.

Toga, chlamys

For us, the typical late antique statue costumes are the chlamys and the new-style toga. Their emergence, adoption, and spheres of operation

are matters of great interest. The ideas embodied in these costumes were so important that some cities preferred to go to the huge expense of commissioning whole new statues, usually from newly quarried stone, instead of taking one of the many available toga or himation statues from surplus stock—costume types that remained valid options through the late period. What did the new choices mean, and when did they start to operate? There were doubtless rules and conventions about who could wear what; but without the defining colours, borders, and segment patterns of the clothes, it is rarely possible to match the costumes with precise statuses or offices.²³ Some simple root meanings, however, are clear. While the old toga meant simply Roman citizen, the new toga meant a high-ranking Roman of senatorial status or, depending on other attributes, of consular status. The new toga was worn by men of senatorial rank and above, and so by emperors, consuls, and governors. The chlamys was, in origin, a military costume, a long cloak like a greatcoat worn outside the city, on journeys, on the way to and on campaign. It was worn by emperors and generals in their role as commanders who might also wear the cuirass. It could be worn in statues without armour or weapons and was then not explicitly military. The chlamys came to be worn by a whole range of office-holders in the civil wing of the imperial service—especially governors and praetorian prefects—for whom the costume represented the idea of governorships and imperial service as a kind of civil *militia*. (We may compare the military titles of civil administrators in the Russian bureaucracy of the nineteenth century encountered, for example, on the first page of Dostoevsky's short story, 'A Nasty Anecdote'.) At some point, the chlamys also became an appropriate costume for the honorific statues of such office-holders.

This much, I hope, is common ground. The surviving range and meanings of the new statue costumes can now be sharpened by examining,

²³ Full recent study of the possibilities: Gehn (2012).

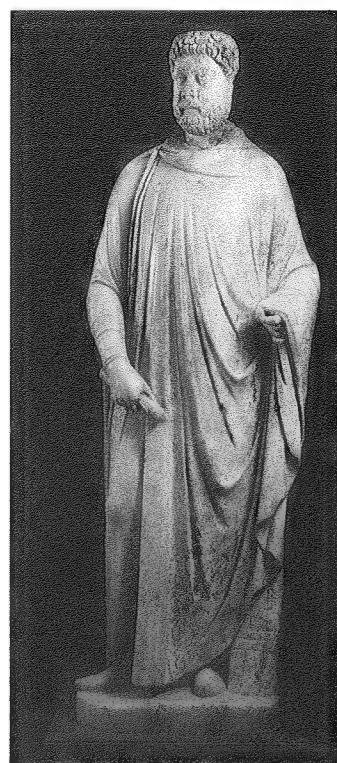


Fig. 1.15 Statue of Oecumenius in chlamys. From Aphrodisias. Late fourth century, LSA 150. Aphrodisias, Museum, inv. 79/10/179, 79/10/185. H: 191 cm.

through the database, the periods and places of their operation.

There are some twenty surviving examples of the familiar, austere, ankle-length chlamys statue type.²⁴ Two points stand out. First, they are all from the east (the Aegean and west Asia statue regions, especially Corinth and Aphrodisias); secondly, none can be dated before the late fourth century. And we will see that we should

²⁴ This number includes life-size statues and busts and excludes (a) heads with only part of clothing preserved—unless absolutely clear it is a chlamys, (b) small figures and busts, and (c) figures wearing armour under the chlamys. The twenty are: LSA 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, and 80 (Corinth); 54 (Megara); 150, 169, 170, 171, 177, and 205 (Aphrodisias); 836 (Athribis bust); 858 (Gortyna); 1010 (Ravenna); 1166 and 1168 (Constantinople fragments); 1185 (Paris); and 2282 (Tokat).

probably not expect any earlier examples. The earliest roughly datable example is the Oecumenius statue from Aphrodisias of c.400 (LSA 150) (Fig. 1.15). The only surviving exception to both rules is a porphyry chlamys statue perhaps of the fourth century from Forum Corneli, now in Ravenna (LSA 1010). As a porphyry statue of an emperor (emperors had always been able to wear a chlamys or paludamentum), however, it is in a different category from the marble chlamys statues of office-holders of Greece and Asia under discussion. The Theodosian obelisk base, diptychs, paintings (Bulgaria), mosaics (Spain, North Africa, and at Piazza Armerina in Sicily) show how pervasive the wearing of the chlamys had become in Roman society, both military and civil, during or by the later fourth century.²⁵ From the Theodosian period into the fifth century, this costume is suddenly taken up in the more elevated sphere of statue honours in eastern cities. There may have been earlier examples and western examples, but the heyday of this striking and typically late antique statue form was clearly in the Greek east during the later fourth and fifth century. Chlamys-wearing in real life should perhaps be seen as a marked preference of the Theodosian court, and in the local city context, as a statue costume, it was perhaps too a way of setting its wearers apart from the himation-wearing local elites. This was certainly one strong effect in the statue-scape of a city such as Aphrodisias. We need to keep firmly in mind this distinction between statue practice and practice in life: the chlamys was worn extensively before the later fourth century in narrative scenes and probably in life, but it emerges suddenly as a *statue* costume only in the later fourth century and in the east.

Toga

The wearing of the toga as a statue costume is also revealing. It was a more widespread choice.

²⁵ Obelisk base: Bruns (1935). Diptychs: Volbach (1976). Paintings (Bulgaria): Dimitrov and Cicikova (1986). Mosaics (Piazza Armerina, Spain, North Africa): most conveniently in Grabar (1996).

Out of a total of more than sixty toga statues and busts or parts thereof, about thirty were re-used, old-style toga statues.²⁶ The re-used number here is uncertain and should almost certainly be much higher, because in many cases, without their heads and bases, it is not possible to tell if a statue was re-used or not. The remaining thirty were newly made. A few rare, newly made statues wear old-style togas—for example, some imperial porphyry figures.²⁷ Most newly-made toga statues and busts, however, are of the imposing new toga designs distinctive to late antiquity.²⁸ The distribution of these two groups, the old toga statues and new toga statues, is revealing. With two interesting exceptions (from one context), all new-style toga statues are from eastern statue centres in Greece and Asia: Athens, Aphrodisias, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Kastamonu (see n. 28). The two exceptions are the famous father and son togati from the Esquiline in Rome, clearly a special commission of a Roman aristocrat, probably for a suburban mansion near the 'temple of Minerva Medica', and probably commissioned from a high-end Aphrodisian workshop active in Rome (LSA 1068 and 1069) (Figs 1.16 and 1.17). Again, as with the new chlamys statues, none of the new-style toga statues can be dated before AD 388–92, when a Theodosian imperial group, wearing new-style togas, was set up at Aphrodisias (LSA 163 and 165) (Fig. 12.4). The Obelisk Base (of the same date) shows the new-style toga forms in pervasive use by the Constantinopolitan elite by this date.

What again needs to be explained here is how and why the new-style toga costume 'jumped' into the different realm of public statue honours

²⁶ Some of the main examples: LSA 44, 46, and 1124 (Puteoli); 196 and 750 (Aphrodisias); 313 (Polybotus); 852, 903, 907, and 1072 (Rome); 883 (Naples); 1130 (Bulla Regia); 1555 (Ostia); 1931 (Italica); 2136, 2411, and 2609 (Lepcis). See Ch. 22 this volume (Lenaghan).

²⁷ LSA 1003 (Alexandria); 1004 (Constantinople); 1026 (Caesarea Maritima).

²⁸ LSA 142 and 143 (Athens); 147, 154, 163, 165, and 198 (Aphrodisias); 455 (Hadrianopolis, Istanbul); 607 (Kastamonu); 697, 698, 707, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1095, and 1096 (Ephesus); 1033 and 1040 (Constantinople); 1068 and 1069 (Rome); 1084 (Smyrna).

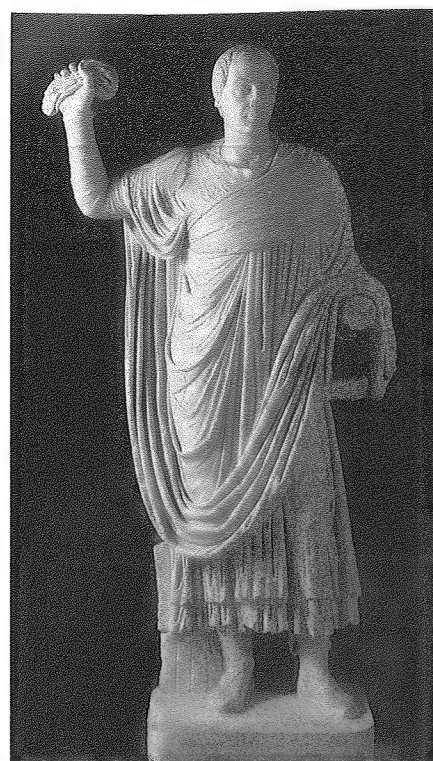


Fig. 1.16 Statue of clean-shaven older man in toga. From Rome. Early fifth century, LSA 1068. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 896. H: 236 cm.

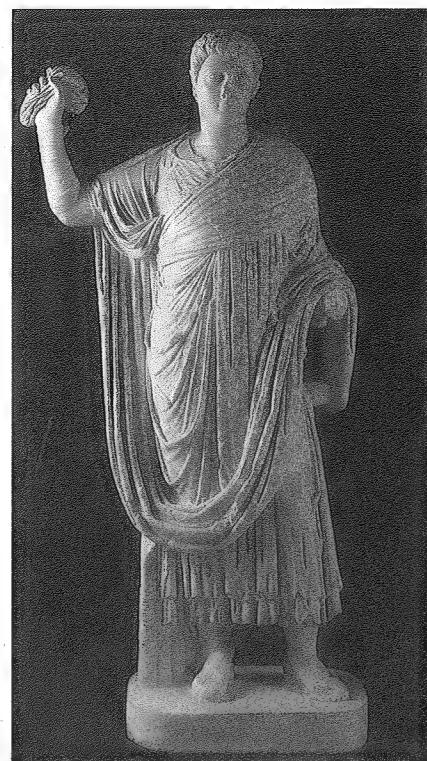


Fig. 1.17 Statue of clean-shaven younger man in toga. From Rome. Early fifth century, LSA 1069. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 895. H: 188 cm.

in eastern cities. It was probably something to do with (a) the preferences of the Theodosian court at Constantinople and (b) the evident effectiveness of the costume type in making a new and strong power-status statement. While the *chlamys* carried a strong, generalized, but concrete effect of military-style power, the new toga forms were probably more specific to higher senatorial ranks.

The corollary is played out mainly in the west. With a few exceptions, the toga style preferred in the west was the old one—the traditional baggy design with the swooping lower hemline, *sinus*, and *umbo* of the early and middle empire. To achieve this desired costume it was natural to re-use handsome togati from an earlier time. It was not because western cities and their honorands could

not afford other statues. Viewed from another perspective, for as long as the old toga forms remained fully satisfactory in the west (until the late fourth century), there was no need, no call, for new toga designs. The city elites wanted unchanged classical togas, and the best way to realize such figures was by re-use. Julia Lenaghan, in Chapter 22, has put together a telling sequence of dated re-used figures of this kind from the west. She has shown that the re-used, old-style toga statue was primarily a fourth-century phenomenon.

Cities in the east occasionally chose old-style togas for their honorands—such as the two prominent and complete examples from Aphrodisias for the emperors Julian and Valens (LSA 196 and 750). But they, too, were mid-fourth century, set up in the 360s. In a way, they are

less exceptions to the 'geographical' rule, more confirmation of the chronological rule. New-style toga statues were not only eastern, but also late—Theodosian and later. In other words, the dated Julian and Valens statues at Aphrodisias suggest or confirm that the new-style toga had not yet become a statuary option—and this in a city that was at the forefront of late antique statue craft, design, and production. It is even conceivable that new-style toga statues may have begun precisely in the dated monuments we have—that is, in the period AD 388–92.

We might push the surviving evidence a little harder. The two new-style toga statues from the Esquiline (LSA 1068 and 1069, Figs 1.16 and 1.17) might be not so much exceptions to western preference as confirmation that new-style toga statues began in the late fourth century. It is possible that among the (potentially many) re-used, old-style toga statues there are some that were set up in the late fourth and fifth century; but there are no documented examples, and there is no large body of fifth-century western bases that might require it. The Esquiline pair may then be the first western togati of the new style but also among the last western togati of any sort that we have.

A basic picture emerges from the statuary evidence when taken on its own: new statue types in the east (*chlamys* and new toga), old-style and re-used toga statues in the west. The outlines of a narrative also come into view. Old-style toga statues, mainly re-used items, were typical of the fourth century, up to say the 370s or 380s, and are most densely attested in the statue regions of the west, where overall statue numbers are by far the highest (notably in Rome and Italy). In the later fourth century, the new-style togas and the new-style *chlamys* costumes 'jump' from pervasive use in life and other representations into the realm of statue honours for emperors and governors. They then became the preferred costumes for such office-holders through the fifth century, and are most densely attested in the eastern statue regions, where the statue habit survived much better than in the west.

We might see the strong preference in fourth-century Italy for old-style toga figures in connection with the conservatism of aristocratic honorands attached to traditional norms of Roman public life. On the other hand, the prevalent choice of the new-style costumes for statues in the east from c. 370–90 onwards might be correlated with the reorganization of ranks and offices in the 370s. Laws of Valentinian I introduced fixed grades and titles from the 370s onwards.²⁹ Such a hierarchy of rank, office, titles, and honour then became the norm at the eastern court of Theodosius. Although it continued to undergo modulation and development, the idea of a carefully graded hierarchy remained. The effect of such a change, a change of mentality, was then felt in the choice of costumes for statues from at least the later 380s. We do not need to suppose a direct (unlikely) connection of cause and effect between the legislation of Valentinian I and statue costumes, merely a sea-change in calibrating a social-political honour system of which both the statues and the legislation were separate manifestations. The broadly dated change in the statue register (it occurred between AD 365 and 388) was at least contemporary with the dated legislation (370s).³⁰

The other main costume choices—broadly speaking, armour for emperors, *himatia* for local notables—continue through the same period. We may suspect a similar pattern for these costumes, of more traditional-looking re-used statues in the early and mid-fourth century and newer and newly made statues in the late fourth and fifth century. This pattern would suit, for example, the large quantity of re-used imperial cuirassed figures of the early fourth century³¹ and some of the re-used fourth-century *himation* statues³²—though they clearly continued into the fifth century too.

²⁹ PLRE 933–4; Heather, *CAH* XIII (1998: 369).

³⁰ On this legislation, see recent studies by Schmidt-Hofner (2008; 2010).

³¹ e.g. LSA 244 (Side); 1029 (Utica); 1122 and 1123 (Ephesus); 1126 (Lepcis); 2384 (Locris).

³² e.g. LSA 152 Alexandrus, the governor, at Aphrodisias (Fig. 12.5); and LSA 735 Alexandrus, the doctor, at Ephesus (Fig. 13.4).

OTHER ASPECTS

The LSA database reveals in sharp relief other and varied aspects of late antique statue practice when viewed in comparison with earlier periods.

Re-use

The redeployment of old statue parts in late antiquity has been discussed from different perspectives above, and it is, indeed, one of the most important and striking features of the period. It is important to formulate its purpose and meaning accurately. In the tetrarchic period, some of the huge over-production of the middle imperial period began to be recycled. Almost all the late antique bases, as far as we can tell, are re-used items, and more than half of all the statuary too. For the statuary it should be considered a choice rather than an economic necessity—a preference for unchanging classical statue costumes which could best be achieved by employing old statues. The point is not re-use but ‘classical’ costume—toga, himation, or cuirass. It is against the backdrop of all the earlier statues and all the contemporary choices of old-style costumes that the new-style togati and chlamydati stand out so strongly. There had been re-use earlier, but the scale and systematic nature of late antique re-use make it different in kind. Its premise, but not its full explanation, was the huge availability of surplus old statuary kept in stock—in the ‘dark, dirty, and hidden places’ attested in fourth-century western inscriptions.³³ Another aspect of this phenomenon is re-use inside the late period: some late pieces show signs of later re-carving and re-use.³⁴

Statue bases

Systematic re-use of old statue bases for new honours brought with it more flexibility and

³³ e.g. LSA 329 (Ostia); 1740 (Beneventum) and 1921 (Litternum?). See Witschel (2007: 122).

³⁴ e.g. LSA 698, Stephanus at Ephesus (Fig. 13.7); 198, Palmatus at Aphrodisias (Figs 1.10, 12.6).

latitude in aesthetic norms and in what constituted both a satisfactory statue figure and a ‘classical’ monument. Some statues made up of heterogeneous heads and bodies can look gauche to our sensitive, classically trained eyes but were surely not considered ghastly pastiches in their own day. The same is true of the bases. Re-used bases, single and composite, start to play with accepted classical forms—for example, they can strive for extra height without being afraid of some remarkably disjointed overall base profiles.³⁵ In the attachment of statues to their bases, the careful alignment of clamps for statue plinths on the tops of bases, observable in the early to mid-empire, is replaced with more haphazard fixings that are usually more challenging to read and more difficult to make work—even when statue and base certainly go together.

Neck tenons

The continued widespread practice of re-use required much changing of heads, and the technique of fastening and changing heads altered markedly. Earlier heads for insertion had been made with deep, tightly fitting tenons set into carefully carved neck sockets. In late antiquity, the sockets became shallow and had broad, flexibly set dowels and probably a lot of stucco to make up loose-fitting joins. In the latest statues at Aphrodisias and Ephesus, the head was finished with only its neck and no unseen tenon, and was then set on a shallow scoop or concave shape cut out of the position of the neck on the statue and attached with deep, long dowels set in it.³⁶ In the case of a new portrait head from Aphrodisias of c. AD 500 found in 2011 (Fig. 12.10), the surviving iron dowel measures 6.75 cm in length (above, n. 13). These heads and statues were probably designed with interchangeability in mind.

³⁵ See discussion and reconstruction drawings of complete monuments in Smith (1999).

³⁶ e.g. LSA 698, Stephanus (Fig. 13.7); 172, seated himation statue; 173, head dowelled at base of neck.

Numbers and prices

Another aspect, also connected to re-use, was the reduced depth of the skill base needed to make statues. Wholesale re-use through the fourth century for classic-looking statue-types meant that the need and the demand for newly carved statues dried to a trickle. When the eastern elites then began to commission new chlamys and toga statues and busts in the late fourth and fifth century, the premium for such high-end new products—and some are among the best ancient statues and busts ever made—must have been very high. One would guess that the cost of a new-style chlamys or toga statue in AD 400 was many times what an equivalent statue had been in c. 200. These new statues were probably seen in their day as astonishing feats of technical wonder. This phenomenon is, of course, difficult to demonstrate and to quantify, but it is clear from inexorable premises and the character of the surviving statuary—collapse of demand, turnover, and the broad, well-founded skill base in the fourth century, followed by very thin, precise demand for new statuary in the late fourth and fifth century. It was natural in these circumstances that high craft quality was not always obtainable for the available budget (as sometimes, e.g. at Corinth: LSA 22 and 24). Some of the new statuary, however, was of the highest technical specification, finish, and aesthetic impact—for example at Aphrodisias, Constantinople, Ephesus, Kastamonu, Sardis, and Stratonikeia.

Replication

A major feature of first- and second-century sculpture production was the replication in marble of many different kinds of ‘authorized’ images—portraits of the emperor and imperial family members, portraits of old cultural ‘classics’, and statues of classical gods, heroes, and athletes. Precise, tightly exercised replication, such as that seen in some categories of ‘classical-looking’ villa marbles in the early empire and in metropolitan imperial portraits of the Antonine

period, was rare and little in demand. Some surviving portraits of various Tetrarchs and of Constantine are loose versions of centrally-defined, authorised models, but only a few can be said to be close replicas.³⁷ Careful portrait replication remained possible when needed and commissioned: the portrait of Oecumenius (Fig. 1.15) was repeated in Aphrodisias and on Cyprus (LSA 150 and 869), and a portrait of a member of the Theodosian elite was repeated closely in Thessalonica and in Corinth (LSA 90 and 358) (Figs 1.18 and 1.19). Looser replication remained possible until near the end of ancient statue-making, as attested by the three heads of the ‘Ariadne’ type (LSA 755, 756, and 757). The distinctive late antique reception of the ‘classic’ portrait types of Menander (Fig. 21.2), Plato, Socrates (Fig. 21.1), and Pindar of the fifth and fourth centuries BC is a fascinating story in itself.³⁸ The late antique versions introduce striking modulations and expressive ideas of their own time, while remaining close enough to canonical types for them to be easily identified. Recognizability remained a key intention of such portraits. The familiarity of well-known image types allowed considerable latitude in re-energizing the emotionless and restrained images of c. 450–300 BC with expressive and engaged physiognomies of c. AD 400.

Another kind of replication was a function of workshop practice, not intended to be recognized as such. Two chlamys statues from Aphrodisias, Oecumenius (Fig. 1.15) and the ‘Old Governor’ (LSA 150 and 169), follow the same posture and costume scheme—they look like ‘replicas’—but they have different portraits and had different contexts within the city. The ‘Old Governor’ was at the Baths, Oecumenius in the North Agora. No one would have seen them together, and their different portraits would undercut any sense of remembered sameness.

³⁷ Such as those of Constantius I: LSA 806 and 855, Maxentius: LSA 896 (Fig. 10.8) and 897, Licinius: LSA 325 and 687, and ‘Valens’: LSA 582 and 597.

³⁸ Menander: LSA 238, 680, 1193, 2106, 2109, 2110, and 2111. Plato: LSA 712 and 908. Socrates: LSA 208, 2107, 2439, 2511, 2512, 2632, 2633, and 2638. Pindar: LSA 206 and 602. See Ch. 21 this volume (Lenaghan).



Fig. 1.18 Head of clean-shaven man. From Corinth. Early fifth century, LSA 358. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-1977-13. H: 27 cm.

As in the early period, when honorific statues tended to use defined costume-and-figure types (such as the 'Coan' himation type or the 'Large Herculaneum' type),³⁹ the awareness of replication, exaggerated by modern homogenizing study of context-less statues in books, was dissipated in antiquity by the many varied aspects of specific local contexts (base, portrait, polychromy, setting, associated statues).

Style: 'frontality' and 'spirituality'?

In terms of new and changed portrait styles since the high empire, two often-repeated interpretations and characterizations of late portraits in general—frontality and spirituality—should be mentioned and, in my view, laid to rest.

³⁹ Himation types: Smith et al. (2006: 151–2). Large Herculaneum: Trimble (2011).

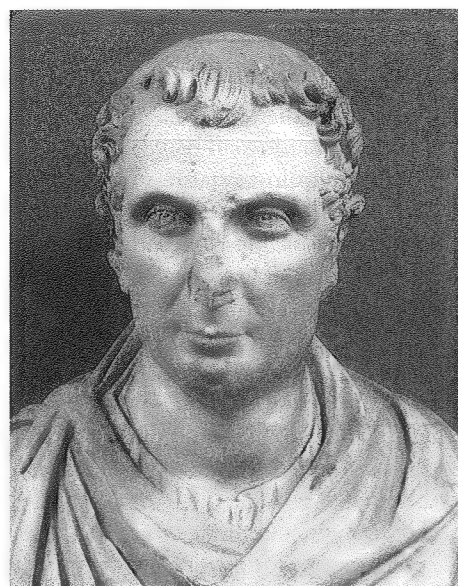


Fig. 1.19 Bust of clean-shaven man. From modern Naoussa. Early fifth century, LSA 90. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1061. H: 72 cm.

Late antique portraits are often said to be 'frontal'. Most portrait statues, of course, look to the front, and most photographs of statues and busts are taken square to the head that give a *prima facie* impression of 'frontality'. It is true that the bodies of the new chlamys and toga statue designs are more immobile and their weight more evenly distributed than is the case in statues of the early period, which tend to have a strongly accented 'weight' leg. The late statues, however, never entirely give up the idea of a 'weight' leg and so of movement and a natural, contingent posture.

Although it is rarely specified or described, the 'frontality' commonly attributed to late portraits seems intended to mean that they stare hieratically in front without engaging with the viewer. The head is positioned square to the front in relationship to the shoulders of the bust or statue—like, it is often said, Constantius II in procession during his visit to Rome in AD 357, looking neither to the right or left, nor up or down, as described in a famous passage of

Ammianus Marcellinus (16.10.1–17, at 9–12). If introduced systematically in late portraits, such a severely frontal posture would of course have represented a highly significant shift from earlier practice. Mostly portraits of the early period introduce some turn to the head that, together with the movement of the body, indicates a living, contingent figure, set in the viewer's world and space. The material now collected in the LSA database gives a good opportunity to test this persistent, long-held view. While there are, indeed, some powerful examples that conform to the expectation of 'frontality'—for example, the Barletta Colossus (LSA 441) (Fig. 1.12) or some of the last togate busts from Ephesus (LSA 697 and 707)—the great majority do not. Out of a total of about sixty-five statues and busts with heads in which we can assess this question, no more than ten have fully frontal heads. More than fifty of the sixty-five have some verifiable or easily observed turn of the head—some kind of more or less pronounced movement out of a purely frontal posture.⁴⁰ We may say broadly that strict frontality is unusual, not much found in the fourth or earlier fifth century, and only slightly more common in the later fifth and sixth century.

Ammianus is of course an eloquent source, and many will not wish to let go of this powerfully attested example of frontality. The passage deserves a closer look. Although Ammianus was describing a real figure, not a statue, the text can be taken fairly as a statement about the kind of social-political comportment shared by figures in real life and in statues. It might, however, be read in another way from the standard one. We may remember first that Ammianus was no historiographical friend to Constantius II, and we may read the description of the emperor in his chariot not as normative and positive but as designed to register a haughtiness of character on the part of the emperor, who is portrayed as

⁴⁰ The famous statue of Fl. Palmatus from Aphrodisias, LSA 198, Fig. 12.6, may have had a 'frontal' head, but although the head certainly belongs to the statue, it does not join and has been set in its current position by archaeologists.

insensible to the dignity of the senators, patri-
cians, and Roman plebs before him (explicit at 16.10.5–6). First, for Ammianus, the emperor's comportment requires extensive comment because it was unusual and inappropriate. This is explicit at 16.10.9: in response to roared acclamation as Augustus by the Roman people, Constantius 'showed himself as calm and imperturbable, as he was commonly seen in his provinces'—in other words, he presented himself as though to provincial subjects, not as he should to the people of Rome. Secondly, Constantius' comportment had for Ammianus some negative connotations of an emperor not properly accessible in manner towards his people and his empire's mother city. This is made explicit at 16.10.12: 'I pass over... many like habits which in his pride of lofty conceit (*elatus in arduum supercilium*) he observed as though they were the most just laws.' The text might be used perhaps to describe well an ideal of imperial comportment of the sixth century, but not of the mid-fourth. A literary text that records something unusual and pejorative has, as in other cases, been taken as something normal, and has given rise to a false perspective of normative contemporary practice.⁴¹

I have addressed the much-detected 'spirituality' of late antique portraits elsewhere.⁴² The new 'staring' eye techniques and the modulated ascetic physiognomy of many newly carved late portraits has usually been interpreted—in line with a modern vision of the period that is driven by the preponderance of religious texts and their modern historiography—as indications of spirituality and religious commitment. The unreflecting application of texts from one context to images from another context has produced unsustainable results. I offer two examples.

First, a superb, bearded portrait head from Sardis (LSA 318) (Fig. 1.20) has been dated variously to the third and the fifth century and has been universally labeled a 'philosopher'. Its technique is that of c. AD 400 and its hairstyle and

⁴¹ Some other examples: Smith (2000: 537–8).

⁴² Smith (1997; 1999).

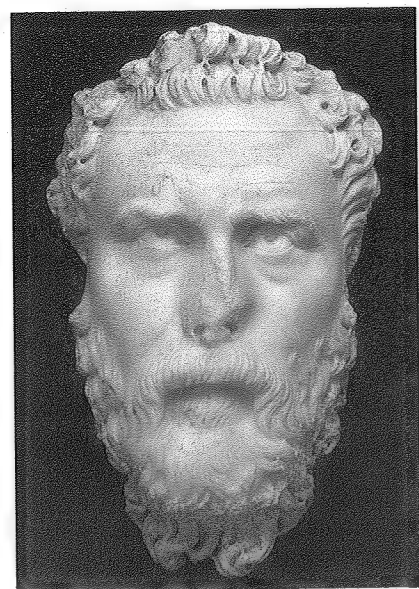


Fig. 1.20 Head of bearded man. From Sardis. Fifth century, LSA 318. Manisa, Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum, inv. 1674. H: 30 cm.

physiognomical style are those of the eastern elite of the Theodosian period. Like the statue of Oecumenius at Aphrodisias (LSA 150), it carries a Christian marker, XMG, on top of its head, probably to indicate the religion of its maker.⁴³ There is no reason, however, to think its subject, as indicated by its fashionable hairstyle, was anything other than an office-holder or notable of the early fifth century, many of whom, in this period, wore full beards.

Secondly, Eutropius (Fig. 13.3). A widespread, persistent, and wilful (mis)interpretation of a famous narrow-faced portrait bust from Ephesus of c. AD 400 (LSA 690) sees in the subject a man of the spirit. This is based purely on a modern reception of his 'ascetic' physiognomy. From the time of its discovery (before 1906), a perfectly good identity and public context had always

⁴³ First reported by Greenewalt in Cahill (2010: 575, no. 219). The XMG is, of course, further proof (were it needed) that the portrait is late antique.

been available in the inscribed console with which the bust was found and on which it clearly once sat (Fig. 13.2)—an identity and a connection doubted and rejected on no good grounds other than it revealed a subject out of step with modern expectations. The subject wears a contemporary Theodosian-period hairstyle, and he was, the base (LSA 611) tells us, in fact not a religious thinker or an ascetic, but a local notable, one Eutropius, a benefactor who worked hard and repaved the streets of Ephesus—neither more nor less. In publications, the name 'Eutropius' attached to this bust usually appears in sceptical quotation marks to imply either unspecified doubt or that there is no good evidence for the connection of portrait and inscription. Eutropius, the Ephesian notable, becomes 'Eutropius', a canvas onto which modern expectations (prejudices?) can be projected. Antiquity and its images often did not do what we might expect.

There were, of course, late antique portraits of professionally ascetic, spiritual, and philosophical men, and they employed new techniques for emphasizing their inner intellectual or religious spirit. But it was not those techniques *in themselves* that represented this spiritual aspect. It was their combination of other tell-tale features of context and attributes, such as format, costume, and hairstyle, that transmitted the idea of a life devoted to higher spiritual matters. The new techniques were something general and widely available in the period. They were used to intensify and emphasize whatever virtues and characteristics were typical of that kind of subject—whether emperor, governor, notable, or philosopher. Enlarged eyes with heavy markings, deeply drilled pupils, and emphatic irises were a near-universal set of new techniques that, for us, immediately distinguish a late antique portrait and allow us to see where an earlier portrait has been re-used. These new eye techniques were a way of updating and enlivening portrait images, setting them off from more restrained early portraits. The root meaning of such emphatic, technically enhanced eyes was, of course, a claim to see more and further than others, but that superior ability was contextualized by the known

category of object and honorand. Local notables see the common good; governors see wrongdoing; holy men see gods or god; philosophers see the truth; and emperors see everything.

So too with the near-universal late antique modulation and manipulation of human physiognomy. Facial expressions and characteristics were modified and intensified, but in a direction and with a meaning that could only be framed by the viewer's immediate knowledge of the subject's role and identity in life. This immediate knowledge, usually denied to us, was given in antiquity by context, format, costume, and inscription. The intensification of a long-haired shield portrait was referred by its context and subject to the world of higher intellectual effort and vision (e.g. LSA 207, Fig. 1.21). The stylistic and physical manipulation of a governor's portrait (e.g. in the statue of Palmatus, LSA 198, Figs 1.10, 12.6) intensified the expression of his virtues and moral character as a severe, hard-working, straight-judging (*ithudikēs*) judge. The inner spirit was not within the competence of a governor, or at least not within the areas of excellence for which he was being honoured with a statue.

Some of the new styles and techniques were used to say old things in new, more striking ways. For example, the new-style philosopher portraits reconfigured old visual ideas of the public intellectual that had been invented in the Hellenistic period (LSA 207 and 1083) (Fig. 1.21 and Fig. 23.14). And the porphyry tetrarchs reformulated the third-century commander's image with a new sharpness and intensity, while bleeding out the dangerously contingent emotionality of third-century portraits (LSA 523 and 836). Other styles and techniques were introduced to define new kinds of public roles, such as the new-style imperial portrait introduced by Constantine and his successors. They have lean-faced, youthful, ethereal, diademed portraits that are expressions of the new idea of the emperor's *sacer vultus* (e.g. LSA 163, 337, 589, and 754) (Figs 1.22 and 9.7). The changed style of the Theodosian and post-Theodosian elite—both governors and local notables—combined fashion hairstyles of the court and a new expression of commitment and engagement

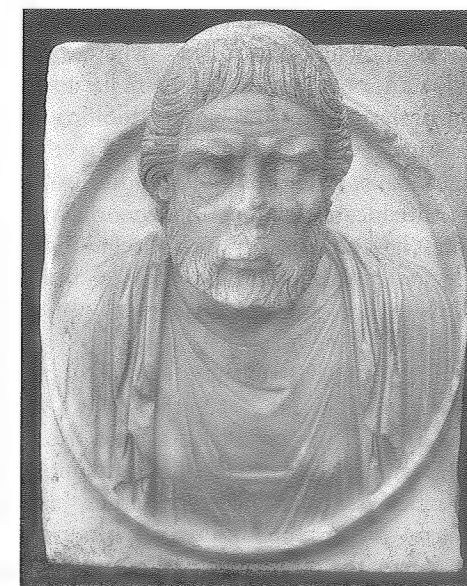


Fig. 1.21 Shield portrait of long-bearded philosopher. From Aphrodisias. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 207. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. 81-112. H: 70.5 cm.

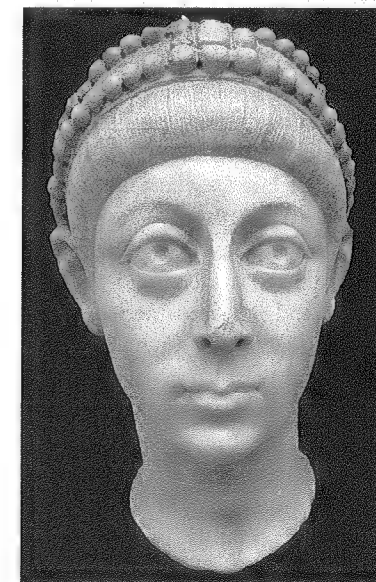


Fig. 1.22 Head of emperor wearing diadem, for insertion in statue. Constantinople. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 337. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 5028. H: 32.5 cm.

in order to represent not their inner spirit but their roles as men of superior quality—whether as prefects, governors, or citizens of the first rank. Such portraits referred not to religious thinking but to the package of elite office-holding virtues that the inscribed bases describe for us in detail—knowledge and education, intense hard work, fixity of purpose, lawfulness and justice, ambition for building, and incorruptibility.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have tried to describe and explain some aspects of the overall shape of the surviving LSA evidence (bases, statues, heads)—the macro-picture of differential empire-wide statue use in the late period. In terms of broad chronology, statue practice remains buoyant through the fourth century, sees a sharp reduction to a lower level of new dedications in the fifth century, and from the early sixth century new statue monuments are sporadic, probably exceptional. In terms of who received statue honours, compared to the early period, central office-holders, especially governors, are way up as a percentage of the total, while local notables and their wives are significantly down—though in the east, local notables make a proportional comeback in the late 'Indian summer' of Greek city life in the fifth century AD experienced especially in provincial capitals. Broadly, the same regions as had been attached to the statue habit in the early period remain attached to it in the late period—Rome, Italy, North Africa, Greece, Aegean area, and western Asia.

The c.875 surviving statuary items in the LSA database belong to the following formats and categories: 575 are heads, 175 statues, 65 busts, and 30 shield portraits. The busts and shield portraits were for mainly private contexts. The busts especially were for viewing close up, and, as in the early period, the best late busts are among the highest-specification sculptures of antiquity. Some detached heads may have belonged on headless busts, but the majority clearly belonged on statues. Most statues set up in the late period

were public honours, and for much of the fourth century (up to say the 370s or 380s) one of the main trends was an essentially conservative one: the new honorific monuments commissioned and set up looked very much like earlier statues in dress, style, attributes, and significance. Since many statues of the early period were now out of commission, for one reason or another, and available on a burgeoning second-hand market, perhaps the most effective way of achieving this intended conservative aspect was to buy, adapt, and recondition a high-quality earlier statue.

Under the easily deployed and naturally pejorative modern terms 're-used' and 'recycled' lay a whole complex process carried out between the initiating parties (buyers, 'commissioners', honouring bodies) and the marble yard of the late antique statuary expert—a process of sourcing, purchasing, redesigning, adapting, repairing, repolishing, transporting, and attaching to a reconditioned base. A large part of the demand for traditional or 'classical'-looking honorific figures was satisfied in this way. Nude statues were rare and went out of use in the early fourth century. The traditional toga, cuirass, and himation, however, remained favoured costumes. That popularity was driven by a desire to clothe the monuments of new benefactors in the time-honoured costumes of earlier periods that were appropriate to the character of their social and political prominence. Honours made of earlier statues remained a leading preference for much of the fourth century. They were driven not by economy but by a preference for those costumes. Re-use was not a measure of last resort but the most effective means to a particular end. It was also, of course, the most cost-effective means to that end. Low price, high quality, and desired costume here coincided happily.

The collected LSA examples show that the emergence in statuary of the power costumes that are so distinctive of the period—the new toga and the chlamys—came in the later fourth century, perhaps as late as the earliest dated examples, in the period c.380–400. The traditional choices perhaps continued, but the new pattern of the late fourth and fifth century is

surprising. At a time when overall numbers of new honours had been sharply reduced, these two new costume types became de rigueur, especially for central office-holders in the east. It is surprising because the new costumes usually required new marble blocks and had to be freshly carved, *ex novo*.⁴⁴ So, at a time when the skill base had shrunk due to a century of recycled honours, a small clientele now suddenly started to demand newly carved statues in new costumes. This highlights the extraordinary visual power that was surely invested in the new toga and chlamys monuments. Probably these dress costumes were responding to the new definition and solidification of the system of ranks, office, and titles that was so marked from the later fourth century onwards.

Finally, in terms of the style and visual effect, the LSA material allows proper control of some of the most cherished modern interpretations of late antique portraits. While many of the new statues are more static, they never abandon the idea of a 'weight' leg and the natural posture of a real figure. The figures are thus never entirely 'frontal', and the frequent modern description of the portraits as 'frontal', set directly square to the shoulders of the statue and to the viewer, also

⁴⁴ Occasionally, a chlamys statue can be seen to have been carved out of an earlier figure, such as LSA 22, but in that case (at Corinth), it was a female statue, which probably demonstrates its unusual nature.

finds little confirmation in the material. Frontally positioned heads are not at all characteristic of the material, and are confined to relatively few pieces in the last period of the late statues. Similarly, the widespread diagnosis of 'spirituality' in the portraits is the result of wholesale and unfounded application of literary sources from one sphere (religious thought and practice) to statues and images from another sphere (public honours). Rather than religious engagement, the portraits display a technically enhanced intensification of the key ideas and virtues in play around the leading categories of honorand—the unflinching justice of the governor, the intense devotion to civic duty of the local notable, the visionary mental power of the philosopher, and the ethereal sanctity of the emperor. New portrait techniques were designed to create images that say more than the restrained ones of the early period, to devise intensifying formulae that expressed the commitment of the benefactor-honorand. This was a commitment to and engagement with many other things besides the divine.

The collection in one database of all available items of late antique portrait statuary and its inscribed bases is intended to allow interpretations of this curious last phase of ancient statue making and statue use to be built less on old generalizations and more on a firmer empirical platform.

CHAPTER 2

Statues at the end of antiquity

The evidence of the inscribed bases

Bryan Ward-Perkins

Fortunately for us, when Romans in late antiquity set up a public statue, they still liked to commemorate the event with a carved inscription with information about the dedication, just as they had done in earlier centuries. In these inscriptions, the person commemorated (the honorand) is always named, the person or institution making the award (the awarder) is generally also identified, and often the inscription provides sufficient information to date it and to provide some indication of why it was set up. Most of these inscriptions are carved directly onto a large stone base, although sometimes they were inscribed on a marble plaque that was affixed to a base made primarily of humbler materials. It is these bases and plaques that provide us with the best evidence of the number and distribution of newly dedicated statues across the empire, and with some indication of why public statuary continued to matter in late antiquity.¹

The only sculptures that were probably seldom identified by inscriptions were pieces displayed in

private contexts, in which the viewer could be expected to know who was represented. It seems likely that many of the surviving busts from our period, which are often of superb quality (suggesting they were displayed at eye level, indoors, and for discerning viewers), were never accompanied by inscriptions. It is also probable that the porphyry statuary from imperial residences in the Balkans never needed, and never had, labels to inform viewers that it was the emperor who was represented.² The great majority of statues newly dedicated in late antiquity were set up in public places with the express intention of honouring a subject whom the wider public might not recognize and of specifying some reason for the honour, for which a grandiloquent inscription, set on an imposing base, was essential. Indeed, even some apparently 'private' statues were accompanied by inscriptions. In the very early fourth century, a young aristocrat from Rome set up statues to his mother and father, in a rural setting, almost certainly in the family's country villa. The inscriptions that accompanied these

statues are different from those found in more public places. Rather than dwell on the honoured couple's impeccable morals and elevated status, the inscriptions simply state that the son honoured them, 'because of [their] loving kindness'. But even these charming sentiments were expressed in stone.³

In the chapters which follow, the principal evidence for the distribution of new, or newly dedicated, statuary are therefore inscribed statue bases. Statuary itself was subject to many vagaries of survival, so that the presence or absence of fragments of statues cannot be taken as a reliable index of how many once existed in a particular place; for instance, almost all bronze statuary is lost, because bronze was a valuable commodity, and easily removed and recast. Inscribed bases, however, are solid objects, which could only be moved with considerable effort. Unquestionably, large numbers have nevertheless been lost—into lime kilns (if of marble), or into later walls and foundations. But there are good reasons to believe that what survives is, at least approximately, a representative sample of what once existed. Ancient cities in southern Italy, like Neapolis (Naples), Puteoli (Pozzuoli), and Beneventum, which had an active medieval and early modern life such that many of their ancient remains will have been destroyed, have nevertheless produced large numbers of surviving bases; while cities in the Near East, like Gerasa (Jerash) and Scythopolis, which were largely abandoned and so have excellent archaeological survival, have produced few. This shows beyond any reasonable doubt that the cities of southern Italy contained much late antique public statuary, while the cities of the Near East had little. Furthermore the patterns of distribution are largely consistent within individual regions: so, to take the same examples considered above, statue bases are found in many different cities in southern Italy, but are notably absent throughout the Near East.

There are only a few obvious anomalous gaps in our evidence, and these can be attributed for the most part to limited amounts of excavation. For instance, from Antioch, the chief imperial residence of the east during the fourth century, we have no late antique statue bases; but the remains of ancient Antioch are buried by deep alluvium under the modern town. Similarly, Constantinople, despite a mass of literary references to statues and a rich collection of fragmentary statuary, has so far produced only eight statue inscriptions from our period, a figure which contrasts strikingly with the c. 350 inscriptions known from Rome in the same period.⁴ We can be confident that statues were more common in Rome than Constantinople, but not by a ratio of 50:1. The figures are skewed by a number of factors, not least by the greater antiquarian and archaeological attention that ancient remains have attracted in the old capital from the Renaissance onwards. However, with a few obvious exceptions, of which the most striking are Constantinople and Antioch, we believe that the inscriptions we have are sufficiently numerous, and from a wide enough range of sites, to give a representative picture of new public statuary in late antiquity, with all its variations, both geographical and chronological.

The precise form of statue bases across the empire varied (Fig. 2.1). For instance in Rome, where imported marble was ubiquitous, they were almost invariably solid rectangular marble blocks, with comparatively small mouldings at top and bottom, carved out of the same monolith. In Africa, by contrast, where there is no native white marble, bases were for the most part of local stone, sometimes with prominent, separately worked mouldings; while at Caesarea (in Palaestina), the fashion was to set statues on top of tall columns.⁵ The forms of bases could even vary within a comparatively small region: at

¹ Painted statue inscriptions rarely survive, and there is no way of judging how common they were. From our period, a dedication to Julian, painted directly on a column, has survived from Singili Barba in Baetica (LSA 2006) (Fig. 5.4), and there are bases with evidence that they were plastered over for a further use with painted inscriptions—e.g. LSA 732 (Ephesus) and LSA 2151 and 2152 (both Lepcis Magna).

² Examples of such busts are a pair in Thessalonica (LSA 90 and 91) (Figs 20.4, 23.20). Not all busts, however, were unlabelled: the bust of Cethegus from Rome, of the late 4th c. (LSA 879), carefully specifies the names of the honorand and the awarder (his son). For the porphyry sculpture of the north Balkans: LSA 845, 1091, 1092, and 1118.

³ LSA 1679 and 1680. The honorands were the future emperor Maxentius and his wife Maxilla, the awarder their son Romulus.

⁴ Constantinople: LSA 27, 30, 31, 349, 361, 2456, 2461, and 2497.

⁵ African examples: LSA 2238 and 2241. Caesarea: LSA 11, 12, 1090, 1100, 1105, 1106, and 1107.



Fig. 2.1 Different styles of inscribed bases for late antique statue honours.

Aphrodisias (in Caria), they could be strikingly tall and thin in shape or made up of a disparate assemblage of re-used architectural elements, whereas in nearby Ephesus many were more squat, with pronounced mouldings (either monolithic or separately worked).⁶ But one characteristic of late antique bases is shared across the empire—the ubiquitous re-use of older material.⁷ Sometimes the selected block had formerly served another function—for example, as an architectural element or as an altar—but often the simplest solution of re-using an earlier redundant statue base was adopted. In these cases, sometimes the base was simply rotated and a new inscription carved on the original side or back; but often the inscribed field was cut back to a slightly lower surface, thereby removing the original inscription and preparing the ground for a new dedication.⁸ Of the approximately 1,600 inscriptions recorded in our database, some 500 are known to display evidence of being recycled from an earlier use. The status of the other 1,100 is simply not currently verifiable. We were not able to examine in person a large number of the bases in our catalogue, and have had to rely on the descriptions of scholars who have seldom been interested in noting and recording evidence of re-use. We can, however, say with some confidence that the great majority of late antique statue inscriptions were carved on blocks in secondary, or even tertiary, use.⁹

Across the empire, the texts of these inscriptions also varied considerably. Linguistically, of course, there was a basic difference between the west, where Latin was almost invariably used, and the east, where Greek was the normal language for

inscriptions.¹⁰ Even in the east, however, well into the sixth century Latin was the language of government, the army, and the law. Consequently, in the east too, for dedications to emperors, Latin was often used alongside Greek: in the Aegean region, some eighty-one statue inscriptions in Latin to emperors are known, against some 114 in Greek; but further south, in Cyprus, the Near East, and Egypt, Latin predominates, with some thirty-six Latin imperial inscriptions against only six in Greek. In a few of these eastern inscriptions, there are basic errors in the Latin, suggesting that the drafter of the inscription (and presumably many of his readers) had no real grasp of the language; tradition and ideology here triumphed over any practical considerations. The eastern use of Latin was, however, confined to the emperors; everyone else, including high-ranking office-holders from the west, was almost invariably honoured in Greek.¹¹ When, for instance, a governor of Crete set up statues to a group of distinguished aristocrats and imperial servants from Rome, he honoured them with inscriptions in Greek.¹²

Another well-known and clear difference between the statue practices of the two halves of the empire—in this case specific to late antiquity—was in the choice of prose or verse for their inscriptions. In the east, statue inscriptions in verse became common during the third century, first used for local notables, but by the late third century also for imperial office-holders such as provincial governors. The use of verse is, indeed, one of the clearest criteria that we have for dating an

⁶ Examples in Aphrodisias: LSA 151, 197, and 199. In Ephesus: LSA 719, 720, 722, and 723.

⁷ Constantinople may have been an exception. With less older material available in the city and a major quarry nearby on Proconnesus, bases may often have been made new. The (exceptional) bases of Porphyrius the charioteer are examples: LSA 349 and 361.

⁸ Examples of rotation: LSA 724 and 727 (Ephesus) and LSA 56 and 57 (Megara in Achaea).

⁹ Good example of a base used three times: LSA 357 (Sparta).

¹⁰ There are a few statue bases in Sicily written in Greek, and one in Rome (Sicily: LSA 1514, 1515, and 1517; Rome: LSA 1536). Snippets of Greek verse are also introduced into two Latin inscriptions in Rome: LSA 1355 and 1418. Here, the intention was clearly to show off: for instance LSA 1355, to the poet Claudianus, ends with a distich in Greek, praising him for combining the genius of Virgil with the muse of Homer.

¹¹ The rare exceptions are: three dedications to praetorian prefects (LSA 872, 1190, and 863), respectively in Alexandria, Berytus (Phoenice Libanensis), and Chytroi (Cyprus); and a fragmentary inscription, probably to a governor and probably of the 4th c., in Aphrodisias (LSA 220).

¹² At Gortyna: LSA 775–83.

eastern inscription to the third century or later.¹³ The verses praise the honorand in fulsome and poetic fashion but often contain remarkably little hard information; for instance, we are often forced to guess at the precise office that he held, and his name is rarely given in any but the most abbreviated form.¹⁴ Consequently, many of our eastern inscriptions can only be dated approximately. The exceptions to this rule are dedications to members of the imperial family, which of course are generally datable, and which during the late third and fourth centuries were always in prose, even if written in Greek. It was only in the fifth century—by which time new imperial statuary had become rare outside Constantinople—that verse inscriptions (always in Greek) came to be applied also to emperors and empresses.¹⁵

Usage in the west was different. Here, verse inscriptions are rare, and the solid information given about the honorand is much fuller.¹⁶ We are almost always given their full name and precise details of the offices they were holding at the time of the dedication, and often also extensive details of their *cursus honorum*. These details make the honorific inscriptions of the west much easier to date than those of the east: the individual can frequently be identified securely with a known and dated person. And even when

this is not the case, it is often possible, from the titles and status of the offices that the honorand held, to suggest a plausible approximate date. Many inscriptions from Rome and southern Italy even record the precise day of dedication and give clear information on the background to the statue's erection. For instance, two inscriptions from Praeneste, south of Rome, include clauses from the honorands' wills, telling us precisely what benefactions they had made to the city to earn their statues, while a remarkable base in Trajan's Forum in Rome quotes *in extenso* from the imperial letter that ordered the erection of the statue.¹⁷ Admittedly, the latter's tiny letters and tortuous rhetorical prose make one wonder whether anybody, before a handful of modern scholars, ever took the trouble to read this difficult inscription; but it certainly contains a lot of information!

The inscriptions employ repeated formulae to create a narrowly varied range of praise for the honorand, whether in Greek verse or Latin prose. Emperors, for instance, are described as 'forever Augustus' and praised as pious, invincible, and triumphant; while governors are lauded for their wisdom, incorruptibility, and justice. Emperors who overthrow other emperors are presented as 'liberators', while their rivals are dismissed as 'tyrants': for instance, an inscription now in Viterbo praises Magnentius, who had recently killed Constans and seized power from him, as 'the restorer of liberty'; but just a few years later an inscription in Rome praises Constantius II, who had overthrown Magnentius, as the 'exterminator of pestiferous tyranny'.¹⁸ Occasionally, some inscriptions extend beyond a narrow formulaic range: the inscription to Magnentius mentioned

¹³ Example of early verse inscription: LSA 676 (Tarsus in Cilicia). Of the 126 Greek inscriptions to imperial office-holders in our database, two-thirds (82) are in verse. On late antique honorific verse inscriptions, see the classic study of Robert (1948).

¹⁴ e.g. of ten statue inscriptions at Ephesus to current or recently demitted governors of Asia, five mention the man's office explicitly (LSA 724, 727, 730, 733, and 747), but a further five allude to it only poetically (LSA 611, 714, 722, 731, and 732). None gives further details of his career.

¹⁵ Imperial verse inscriptions: LSA 27 (Constantinople, to Eudoxia in 403), LSA 139 (Athens, to Eudocia in 421/39), LSA 2497 (Constantinople, probably to Theodosius II in 402/50), LSA 2461 (Constantinople, to Marcian in 450/2), and LSA 365 (Pisidian Antioch, to Justinian in 527/65).

¹⁶ The relatively few verse inscriptions in the west are all from the regions most open to eastern influence—Sicily, southern Italy and Rome, and Africa: in Greek, LSA 1515 (Syracuse, Sicily) and LSA 1517 (Catina, Sicily); and in Latin, LSA 2057 (Catina, Sicily), LSA 1808 (Regium Iulium, Lucania et Bruttii), LSA 1911 (Puteoli, Campania), LSA 1399 (Rome), LSA 2473 (Thubursicu Numidarum, Africa Proconsularis), and LSA 2218 (Lepcis Magna, Tripolitania).

¹⁷ Examples of precisely dated bases: LSA 272, 323, 343, and 1418. Praeneste: LSA 1685 and 1686. Trajan's forum: LSA 1247.

¹⁸ Viterbo: LSA 2573. Rome: LSA 838. The string of emperors who 'preserve', 'restore', 'defend', 'found', or 'extend' liberty is such that one might legitimately wonder who threatened it: Constantius I (LSA 1259), Maxentius (LSA 2152), Licinius (LSA 1120), Constantine I (e.g. LSA 1647), Julian (e.g. LSA 517), Valens (LSA 1825), Gratian (LSA 1292), Honorius (LSA 1310), and even Phocas (LSA 1313).

above, for instance, also describes him as 'preserver of the soldiers of the provinces (*conservatori militum provincialium*)', a phrase that occurs on no other dedication and which probably reflects the particular propaganda of a general who had recently seized power. It is the eccentric emperor Julian who shows up most often as an individual in our inscriptions. The majority of the approximately forty inscriptions dedicated to him have entirely conventional inscriptions, but eight of them stand out through their use of phrases that refer to Julian's particular beliefs and policies: at Iasos in Caria, he is praised as 'one who is ruling by [the precepts of] philosophy', at Pergamon in Asia as a 'teacher of philosophy', and on the island of Samos as one 'intimate with purity'; while two inscriptions (one at Salamis in Cyprus and one at Sua in Africa Proconsularis) address him as *pontifex maximus*, a title still held by the emperors but rarely used after the death of Constantine; at Miletus in Caria, there is a gentle reference to Julian's paganism in the description of the city as the 'nurse of Didymean Apollo', and from Casae in Numidia explicit praise for him as 'the restorer of liberty, and of the Roman religion'; finally, in Ancyra (in Galatia Salutaris) a statue inscription lauds Julian's military prowess in exceptional narrative detail.¹⁹

Honorific statues were an urban phenomenon, associated with the traditional civic politics of a Latin *civitas* or Greek *polis*. When the inhabitants of Orcistus in Asia Minor petitioned the emperor Constantine in 324/6, asking that their town be restored to its former status of *polis*, one of the arguments they put forward was that it already

had 'a forum decorated with the statues of earlier emperors'.²⁰ Public statuary outside the administrative cities of the empire was rare. As many as thirteen statue dedications to emperors of the tetrarchic period are known from the great military camp at Thebae (modern Luxor in Egypt) (Fig. 9.3), and there is an interesting group of inscribed bases from the military camps of Novae (Fig. 6.7) and Oescus on the Danube frontier, three of which may have carried imperial statues and are securely dated to the years 430–32.²¹ But such dedications are exceptional in a military context, where honorific statues played little role.

Most statues were set up in public spaces, generally out of doors or inside an open portico (though council chambers and theatres were also suitable locations), in settings similar to those chosen for statues today. However, unlike in modern times, when a statue might stand within a city square in solitary splendour, a late antique example would always be jostling for attention with a crowd of older statues.²² In Rome, there was also a fashion for erecting statues of senatorial aristocrats within their palatial houses, some erected by family members, others by grateful (or hopeful) clients.²³ There is, unfortunately, little good archaeological evidence as to where precisely within these *domus* they were set up. However, one statue base for a consul of 347 tells us that the statue was set up 'in the vestibule of his house' (*in vestibulo domus*:

²⁰ MAMA VII, 70, no. 305: *forum istatuis [sic] veterum principum ornatum*.

²¹ Thebae: LSA 1179, 1180, 2621–31. Novae: LSA, 1102, 1103, 2445, 2594 (the first three of 430–32). Oescus: LSA 2596, 2597, 2598.

²² For this perspective, see Smith (1999); Smith et al. (2006: 9–13) (on statue numbers); Smith (2007; 2012b: 63–4).

²³ An excellent example of a purely family dedication is the statue of Caius Caelius Saturninus, set up by his son, that proudly lists the lengthy *cursus honorum* of the father and the fact that he had raised himself (and his son) from equestrian to consular rank (LSA 1266) (Figs 22.1 and 23.5). Good examples of dedications to a patron, set up in his Roman home, are four bases erected to Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus by three different clients: the city of Puteoli (LSA 1397), the guild of swine dealers and butchers (the *suarii*, LSA 1396 and 1399), and the guild of bakers (the *pistores*, LSA 1398).

¹⁹ Iasos (LSA 514); Pergamon (LSA 517); Samos (LSA 818); Salamis (LSA 868); Sua (LSA 1891); Miletus (LSA 550); Casae (LSA 2322, *restitutori libertatis et Romanae religionis*); Ancyra (LSA 2846 = *CIL* III 247). It should, however, be noted that an even later statue inscription from Africa Proconsularis, at Thabburra, addresses the Christian emperor Valentinian I (364–75) as *pontifex maximus* (LSA 1895). Some milestones to Julian are also distinctive—e.g. one from near Berytus and one from near Caesarea Philippi which both open: *Romani orbis liberatori, templorum restauratori, curarum et rei publicae recreatori, barbarorum extinctori*...: Conti (2004: nos 17 and 18).

LSA 1253), and we can reasonably assume, from their grandiloquent inscriptions, that it was in areas where clients and visitors could admire them and be impressed by the owner's elevated family lineage.

As in the earlier empire, and in complete contrast to the habits of the modern world, public statuary was almost invariably set up to living people, and only rarely to the dead, and then always for particular reasons.²⁴ For instance, a statue set up in 385 in Praeneste to a recently deceased local benefactor (mentioned above) was erected to him because he stipulated in his will that this was a condition of his benefaction. Indeed, he even specified that the statue could not be tucked away in some obscure corner of the town but had to be set up in the forum (LSA 1686). Posthumous statues were also set up to celebrate their own families by the senatorial aristocrats of Rome. For example, probably in the first decade of the fifth century, the grandly named Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus placed statues in his house to his wife's dead grandfather (a prominent senator and 'most skilful historian') and to his own father (the even more distinguished orator); and in 438, Acilius Glabrio Faustus honoured his father, his father-in-law, and a more distant ancestor with statues in the 'forum' which his father had built (probably a square in close proximity to the family home).²⁵ Through these honours, Symmachus and Faustus enhanced their own lineage and their own reputation for *pietas* towards their ancestors.

One specific way that posthumous statuary was used was to rehabilitate men who had suffered a disgrace which had subsequently been forgiven. In the early 350s, Constantius II ordered that gilded bronze statues should be

erected in the empire's 'most splendid cities (*in opimis urbibus*)' to Flavius Philippus, a praetorian prefect who had died in disgrace but had recently been rehabilitated (LSA 862). Whether many of these expensive statues to Philippus were actually set up is doubtful, though the inscription from one of them is known from the comparatively minor Cypriot city of Chytroi (LSA 863). Sometimes such rehabilitation through statuary can be clearly attributed to the lobbying of an important descendant. In 431, a statue was erected to Nicomachus Flavianus in Trajan's Forum, the most prestigious location in Rome for an aristocratic statue, on the orders of the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III (LSA 1247). Nicomachus had lost both his life and his public honour nearly forty years earlier, supporting an imperial usurper against the grandfather of these emperors. Why they now honoured this traitor to their dynasty is explained by the prominent mention in the statue's long dedicatory inscription of two of Nicomachus' descendants: a grandson who had served as prefect of the city of Rome and, above all, a son who in 431 was serving as praetorian prefect. It was undoubtedly the loyalty of these family members that was being rewarded through the posthumous rehabilitation of their disloyal antecedent.²⁶ Emperors themselves, of course, had no need to lobby if they wanted to reverse the posthumous fortunes of an ancestor. When Theodosius I became emperor in 379, he salvaged the reputation of his father, also called Theodosius, a general executed in 376 in circumstances that are now obscure to us. A number of provincials across the empire seized the opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the new emperor by erecting statues to Theodosius senior: they are known from Antioch (Libanius 20.10, 22.8; LSA 2725), from Ephesus (LSA 721), and most spectacularly from both Stobi (Macedonia II) and Canusium (Apulia et Calabria), where nothing less than gilded bronze equestrian

²⁴ Even in highly traditional and hierarchical Britain, political leaders and monarchs now have to await their death before they are commemorated in a public place—an exception, acknowledged as such, is the statue of the first female Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, erected in the Lobby of the House of Commons in 2007, several years before her death in 2013.

²⁵ Symmachus: LSA 270 and 271. Faustus: LSA 1393, 1466, and 1577.

²⁶ A similar case is that of Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, who had suffered *damnatio memoriae* but had his statue in Aphrodisias restored by a descendant (LSA 193).

statues of the emperor's father were set up (LSA 2731 and 1695).

Most public statues, however, were set up to honour living people, to thank superiors for favours received, or in the hope of favours to come. Statues served the important function of lubricating political relations—they therefore had a much more immediate and lively role to play in the life of late antiquity than do the statues of our own age, which essentially serve as exemplars of noble behaviour and statements of historical identity. Over half of all inscribed late antique statue honours were for emperors (a little less than a half if we include the surviving statuary evidence in the total: see Chapter 1 (Smith)). The other inscribed statue honours were mainly for imperial office-holders and local, city-based notables. In the case of dedications to emperors, the hope that a public expression of loyalty would be noted and appreciated is obvious, and this meant that several statues to the same emperor might be erected in the same city. Cirta in Numidia received the special favour of the emperor Constantine, who restored it after a sack in 310 by his rival Maxentius and allowed it to be renamed *Cirta Constantina*: six statues to Constantine are known from the city, including two dedicated by the same imperial office-holder.²⁷ At Sagalassus in Pisidia, sometime between 354 and 361, the city set up two identically shaped and identically worded bases, side by side, to Constantius II (LSA 2524 and 2525). To modern eyes, two Constantiuses, on adjacent bases, would be disturbing, and perhaps not a little ridiculous; but in antiquity multiple statues represented a laudable display of exceptional loyalty and devotion.²⁸ Because statues of different sizes and material carried different status, it was even possible to

express a raised level of devotion by commissioning a second statue, superior to an earlier one: an inscription in Athens of the later fourth century records two statues to a governor of Achaëa, one of marble and a later one of bronze (LSA 2 and 423).

In the case of imperial office-holders, in particular provincial governors (who held office for brief periods of time), the honour of a statue was probably most often granted only at the conclusion of their term of office. Here, the hope of the awarders was therefore not for immediate favour; but these honorands were often destined for higher things within the imperial service, and so were well worth courting even if they were about to leave the province. Many provincial governors, particularly in the west, indeed assumed a formal relationship with cities within their provinces by taking on the role of 'patron' (see Chapter 3 (Machado)). A statue to a 'good' governor, with a text outlining his virtues, might also be hoped to inspire similar behaviour in a successor. When, for instance, the people of Aphrodisias set up a marble statue to the governor of Caria, Oecumenius (LSA 150 with 151) (Fig. 1.15), with these high-minded words in its inscription: 'what greater reward than that of being well remembered can the man find who is pure in mind and hand?', they were both thanking Oecumenius for his justice and incorruptibility and hoping that his successors would aspire to similar honour.

While honorific statues were undoubtedly important to political relations, they were hardly indispensable—otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why they eventually disappeared altogether and why they were always more popular in some regions of the empire than in others. The contexts in which they were deployed were limited essentially to the 'civic' sphere, as tools of traditional urban politics, set up in traditional civic spaces such as *fora*. As we have seen, there are a few statue inscriptions known from military camps, but in general, public statuary played a minor role in the military zones of the empire (the Rhine, Danube, and Mesopotamian frontiers). Indeed, it is striking

²⁷ LSA 2228–33 (2232 and 2233 set up by the same *rationalis*).

²⁸ In a similar case, Constantius II had two statues dedicated to him in 357 at the north end of Rome's forum, with exactly the same wording, by the same prefect of the city (LSA 1278 and 1279). These two bases joined a massive pre-existing equestrian statue to the same emperor, erected here only a few years earlier (LSA 838). At Lepcis Magna in 307/8, Maxentius had similar bases set up to him in the Severan Forum (LSA 2151 and 2152).

that military men, other than the victorious emperors themselves, were rarely honoured with statues during the late third and fourth centuries. This situation, however, changed markedly in the troubled times of the fifth century, with a sudden flurry of statues to the generals of the day (who had also become important political players).²⁹ It was, however, essentially within the context of urban politics, in particular in the traditional Graeco-Roman heartlands, that public statues continued to play an important role into late antiquity.

Statues, as today, were intended to be permanent memorials, and a number of inscriptions, particularly from Rome and southern Italy, in describing the purpose of a dedication, use phrases such as 'to the eternal memory', 'as a perennial monument', 'to prolong his memory to all ages'.³⁰ In reality, however, it is clear that the habit of erecting statues to living people, in the hope of immediate advantage, made them vulnerable. The passage of time meant that they rapidly outlived their usefulness. Some of the changes that led to the loss of a statue were dramatic, above all those caused by political fluctuations—emperors and highly placed individuals who fell from favour would have their statues removed and their inscriptions deliberately defaced as part of the condemning of their memory. For imperial honours, this normally happened immediately when a rival imperial claimant successfully seized power. For instance, a remarkable base at Thamugadi in Numidia (LSA 2373) was originally set up to the Caesar Galerius between 293 and 305 but was then

²⁹ Examples of military men honoured with statues in the west during the 5th c.: Aetius (LSA 1434), Merobaudes (LSA 319), and most prominently, Stilicho (LSA 1363, 1436, 1437, 1490, and 1587). And in the east: Aspar (LSA 353), Basiliscus (LSA 367), and Zeno (LSA 639). In Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania, then troubled by raiders from the interior, there are three statue inscriptions to military *duces* of the province from the late 4th and early 5th c.: LSA 2175, 2176, and 2177.

³⁰ These examples: LSA 1746 (Beneventum, Campania), LSA 1808 (Regium Iulium, Lucania et Brutii), LSA 404 (Rome), and LSA 2454 (Sicca Veneria, Africa Proconsularis). There are many other examples. Note also LSA 1406 (Rome), which speaks of 'the eternal monument of a statue, to serve as a record for future generations'.

defaced, probably in 310 when a rival, Maxentius, seized power in Africa. That is not the end of the story, however: the base was subsequently rededicated to Galerius after the fall and death of Maxentius in 312, but now a posthumous honour to the 'Divine Galerius' (he had died in 311). Through three actions on the same base—dedication, defacing, and rededication—the citizens of Thamugadi had kept up with the rapidly changing political events of late tetrarchic times. There are also a few interesting examples of such *damnatio* long after the event. The emperor Diocletian was, in political terms, a respected figure who was never disgraced; but for Christians he had, of course, a reputation as one of the great persecutors. It was probably this that eventually led to the erasure of a statue inscription to him at Cuicul in Numidia (along with those to several other 'notorious' persecutors).³¹

Imperial statues were also subject to attack during civil disturbances. The most famous incident in our period was the 'Riot of the Statues' in Antioch in 387, when an imperial tax demand provoked major unrest in the city. The rioters first attacked the painted images of the emperor, Theodosius I, and then proceeded to attack and destroy his bronze statues, along with those of his family—his wife, Aelia Flacilla, his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, and his dead father, the elder Theodosius.³² Earlier in the century, the citizens of Edessa, with less violence and more of a sense of humour, removed a statue of Constantius II from its base, laid it face down, and gave it a sound thrashing on its back and backside, as a mark of their displeasure at imperial policy.³³

Deliberate defacing of bases and violent removal of statues, however, were not the main enemies of our honorific monuments. The greatest threat that

³¹ LSA 2236 (Diocletian), LSA 2237 (Maximian), LSA 2238 (Maximian or Maxentius), LSA 2239 (Galerius), LSA 2240 (an unidentified Caesar). Some of these erasures may have been more conventional political slights.

³² Essential texts: Libanius, *Orations* XX.4 and 10, XXI.5, and XXII.7–8. Database entries: LSA 2700 (Theodosius I), 2725 (the elder Theodosius), 2726 (Aelia Flacilla), 2727 (Arcadius), and 2728 (Honorius).

³³ Libanius *Oration* XIX.48–9; LSA 2834.

they faced was indifference through the passage of time. As we have seen, this indifference was already manifested in the way that so many of the statues of late antiquity stood on bases recycled from the past. Our statues themselves often suffered the same fate, though it is only when previous inscriptions were left intact that we can document this process. A base in Lepcis Magna was re-used three times within the course of a single century: first for a governor and patron in 290/4; then, after being rotated 90 degrees, for a different governor and patron sometime in the fourth century; and finally, rotated once more, for the emperor Theodosius I in 379/95.³⁴ Even a spectacular act of munificence did not guarantee that a statue honour survived in perpetuity: when in 480 the colossal bronze effigy of Theodosius I fell off its column in the middle of his forum in Constantinople, it was not restored. Nor was its splendid perch left vacant for long: in 506 Anastasius appropriated the column for a statue of his own (LSA 2458). Sometimes the evidence we find is puzzling: a base to the emperor Constantine in Cirta, the Numidian city that he had rebuilt and had named after himself, was re-used in 343 to honour a provincial governor, only six years after Constantine's death and while his sons were firmly in power, without even erasing the earlier inscription (LSA 2232 and 2327). By contrast, in nearby Thubursicu Numidarum, a statue of the same emperor was carefully moved and re-erected in 361/2 (LSA 1182).

No doubt various local circumstances and contingent events decreed which statues continued to stand and which were cleared away or were not restored when they fell into disrepair. Only rarely, however, do we get any hint of the processes involved. We have already met, in the case of the statue of Nicomachus Flavianus in Trajan's Forum, evidence of descendants caring for the commemoration of their ancestors to the point of re-erecting their statues. Similar concerns presumably maintained many marble and

bronze honorands on their plinths, whereas others, whose families had become indifferent or extinct, were allowed to decay. An inscription at Stratonicea in Caria, of the early fourth century, mentions a statue (of unknown subject) set up by a brother and sister 'near the statues . . . the memorial inscriptions, and the image of their ancestor Sempronius Clemens' (LSA 655). It is reasonable to imagine that this wealthy brother and sister not only set up their new statue but also kept a close eye on those of Clemens. Indeed, an interesting inscription at Casula in Africa Proconsularis, of the early fifth century, explicitly documents a man's repair of statues that had been paid for by his ancestors, presumably many decades earlier (LSA 2421).

* * *

One of the most obvious and striking results of our empire-wide survey is to show, conclusively, how uneven was the distribution of new statuary in late antiquity—a topic which is explored in the regional chapters that follow (Fig. 2.2). The habit of erecting statues flourished in Rome, in southern Italy, in central North Africa, and in the Aegean region (Greece, coastal Asia Minor, and the islands). It was also comparatively strong in northern Italy; but statues were rare (and rapidly became rarer) in Iberia, southern Gaul, the northern Balkans, and the whole of the Near East, including Egypt. Their absence from the Roman Near East is particularly striking, because we know that cities in this region flourished until at least the earlier sixth century; but they did so with few new statues. Some of these regional differences can be explained in terms of particular social and political conditions, but for the most part, they were probably determined by tradition. The cities of the Near East had never engaged strongly with honorific statues as a political and cultural practice, and they seem to have been happy to continue to live without them.³⁵

³⁴ The three dedications are: LSA 2168, 2182, and 2159. The dedication of the late 3rd c. was already a re-use of an earlier base, probably of the Severan period.

³⁵ Only 67 imperial statues are known from the Near East and Egypt from the first two centuries AD, while almost ten times as many are recorded in statue-rich Asia Minor (Højte 2005: 101–2, 592, 621).

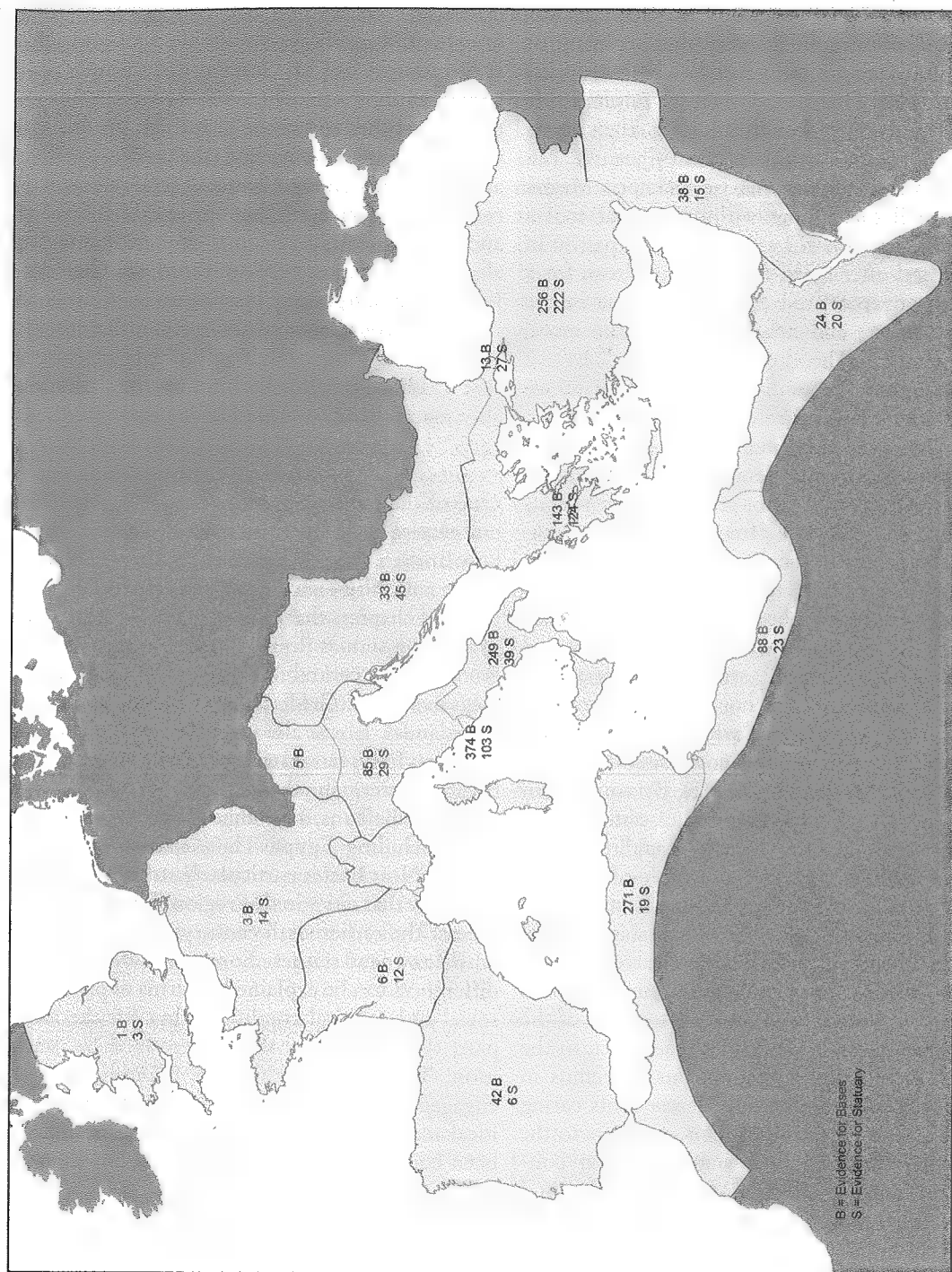


Fig. 2.2 Evidence for late antique statue honours throughout Roman empire.

In contrast, the tiny *civitates* of North Africa seem to have enjoyed setting up statues, partly perhaps in rivalry with each other. The conservative aristocracy of Rome certainly loved statues of themselves and ensured that their clients erected them, both in their homes and in more public places. An inscription to one of them at Beneventum in Campania describes the statue as 'a special and particular gift, more distinguished than other honours' (LSA 1730), while Ammianus Marcellinus, a visitor to Rome from the comparatively statue-free Near East, observed with surprise (and some disdain) the Roman aristocracy's passion for 'lifeless bronze images'.³⁶

Of the c.1,350 statue inscriptions from our period for which we know the status of the honorand, well over half—nearly 800—are to emperors or members of the imperial family (Fig. 1.2).³⁷ This was a high proportion compared to the earlier empire (see Chapters 1 and 12 (Smith)). These were mostly set up by one of the office-holders or institutions of the city in which they stood or by the province's governor (often in his provincial capital), though occasionally they were set up by other imperial functionaries. Those set up by the cities may often have been erected in the first instance at an emperor's accession as a mark of loyalty to the new regime. There are also examples of dedications that seem to have marked special occasions: for instance, three bases at Side in Pamphylia to Helena, mother of Constantine I, may well commemorate a visit to the city by the empress during a journey to Jerusalem (LSA 262, 263, and 2098). Imperial statues, including those of earlier emperors, were certainly better protected than statues to lesser mortals, so a higher proportion of them probably survives in our evidence than of other categories of honorand.³⁸

The second largest category of honorand, with nearly 380 known inscriptions, were the office-

holders in imperial service, primarily governors, but also a few lower-ranking figures, such as their legates, and some more distinguished men, such as praetorian prefects. They constitute nearly 28 per cent of the inscribed statue honours. By late antiquity, a category that had been numerous under the early empire, statue honours for local notables, was much reduced. With c.130 inscriptions in our database, they constitute a little under 10 per cent of the total, and are mostly from the traditional statue regions—the Aegean region, North Africa, and Italy (especially Campania). The statue dedications reflect clearly a well-known phenomenon of late antiquity: the move away from local prestige and power towards office and power in imperial service. On the other hand, local prestige and local munificence were not dead: 10 per cent is a small proportion, but it is a significant one.

The commonest category of awarder in all regions were either office-holders or institutions of the city, the latter being generally the council (*ordo* or *boule*), but often still in conjunction with the people (the *populus* or *demos*), and occasionally the *populus* or *demos* alone. One of the striking results that comes out of the LSA empire-wide dataset is not only that certain regions and groups were particular attached to traditional statue practices (the city and aristocracy of Rome are a prime example), but also that this was true of some individuals, both as recipients and as awarders of statue honours. A few examples may be cited: two fourth-century aristocrats in Rome each received four and five statues respectively within the city from guilds and other institutions that they patronized; in the same city, Coelia Claudiana, a chief Vestal of the years around 300, was honoured with no fewer than seven statues; Anicius Auchenius Bassus, a governor of Campania in 379–82, was honoured with six statues in four different cities of his province, with further statues in Rome and Gortyna (Crete).³⁹ In the case of these honorands, the

³⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.6.8 (quoted in full in Ch. 24, Ward-Perkins).

³⁷ The figure of c.1,350 is for inscriptions to mortals only, and excludes a further 75 statue dedications to deities and personifications.

³⁸ *CTh* 15.1.44 of 406 allowed the removal of imperial statuary during repair works, while ordering its return on the completion of the repair.

³⁹ The two Roman aristocrats: LSA 1396–1400 (Proculus); LSA 1441–4 (Orfitus). Coelia Claudiana: LSA 1480, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1499, and 1509. Bassus in Campania: LSA 326, 1683, 1729, 1730, 1848, and 2034. Bassus elsewhere: LSA 775 (Gortyna) and 1354 (Rome).

word must have got out that they smiled on clients who awarded them statues, as was evidently the case with the emperor Julian (see Chapter 24, Ward-Perkins). One individual is attested as an exceptionally keen erector of statues: Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, governor of Crete in 382-3, who is associated in one way or another with some fifteen statues to emperors and prominent Roman senatorial aristocrats (studied in detail in Chapter 17, Bigi and Tantillo).

The most cursory glance at the LSA catalogue, and at the charts presented in this volume, will show that new dedications of statues fell through the fourth century, had effectively disappeared by the fifth century in some regions where they had flourished in the fourth (notably in the west), and were rare outside Constantinople by the sixth century. This steady decline, and eventual demise, is the subject of the final chapter in this volume (Ch. 24, Ward-Perkins).

Regions

Italy

Carlos Machado

Italian cities remained prosperous for most of the late antique period. After a remarkable boom in the second and third centuries AD, urban life continued to be marked by notable vitality during the fourth century. This is explained, at least in part, by the presence of the imperial court in the north and of a powerful senatorial aristocracy in the south. Although the fifth century witnessed troubles—notably barbarian invasions, especially between 401 and 410—there is plenty of evidence to suggest that urban communities continued investing in their essential physical structure as well as in the construction of churches. Even after the Byzantine wars of reconquest in the sixth century, Italy remained by western standards remarkably urbanized.¹

Although in recent years there have been important studies of late antique Italian urbanism,² few scholars (if any) would disagree with the generalizations set out above. The evolution of the statue habit in late antique Italy is, to a certain extent, important confirmation of this

urban continuity. At the same time, it raises a number of issues concerning the meaning of ‘continuity’, highlighting the changes that marked Italian society and material culture during this period. The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the evidence available for the dedication of statues in the Italian cities between 284 and the last dedication securely dated in 608 (Fig. 3.1). It will also review some of the main questions posed by this evidence and consider how it can help us to understand the evolution of the statue habit in this part of the Mediterranean world. Although briefly mentioned for comparative purposes, the cases of Rome and Ostia will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 11 (Machado).

SURVEYING THE EVIDENCE

If we include the evidence from Rome, Italy was the richest region of the Roman empire for late antique statuary. We have evidence in the LSA database for some 978 inscribed bases and items of statuary, of which most are new honours and some have been moved and restored. There are 708 inscriptions and 270 statues and sculptural fragments as well as fifteen textual references that can be dated with reasonable confidence to our period. More than a quarter of this material cannot be precisely dated (c.300 pieces out of the 993), and in order to chart the development of

¹ The classic study is Ward-Perkins (1984), for central and northern Italy. Southern Italy still lacks a similar survey, but it has been the focus of specific studies. Good introductions to individual cases can be found in Ghilardi et al. (2006) and Augenti (2006). For the earlier period, see now Patterson (2006: 89–183).

² Notable progress has been made, especially in local studies: Savino (2005) and Iasiello (2007), for Campania and Samnium, respectively; and Delogu and Gasparri (2010) for the 5th c. in general. For political history, Cecconi (1994) remains crucial.

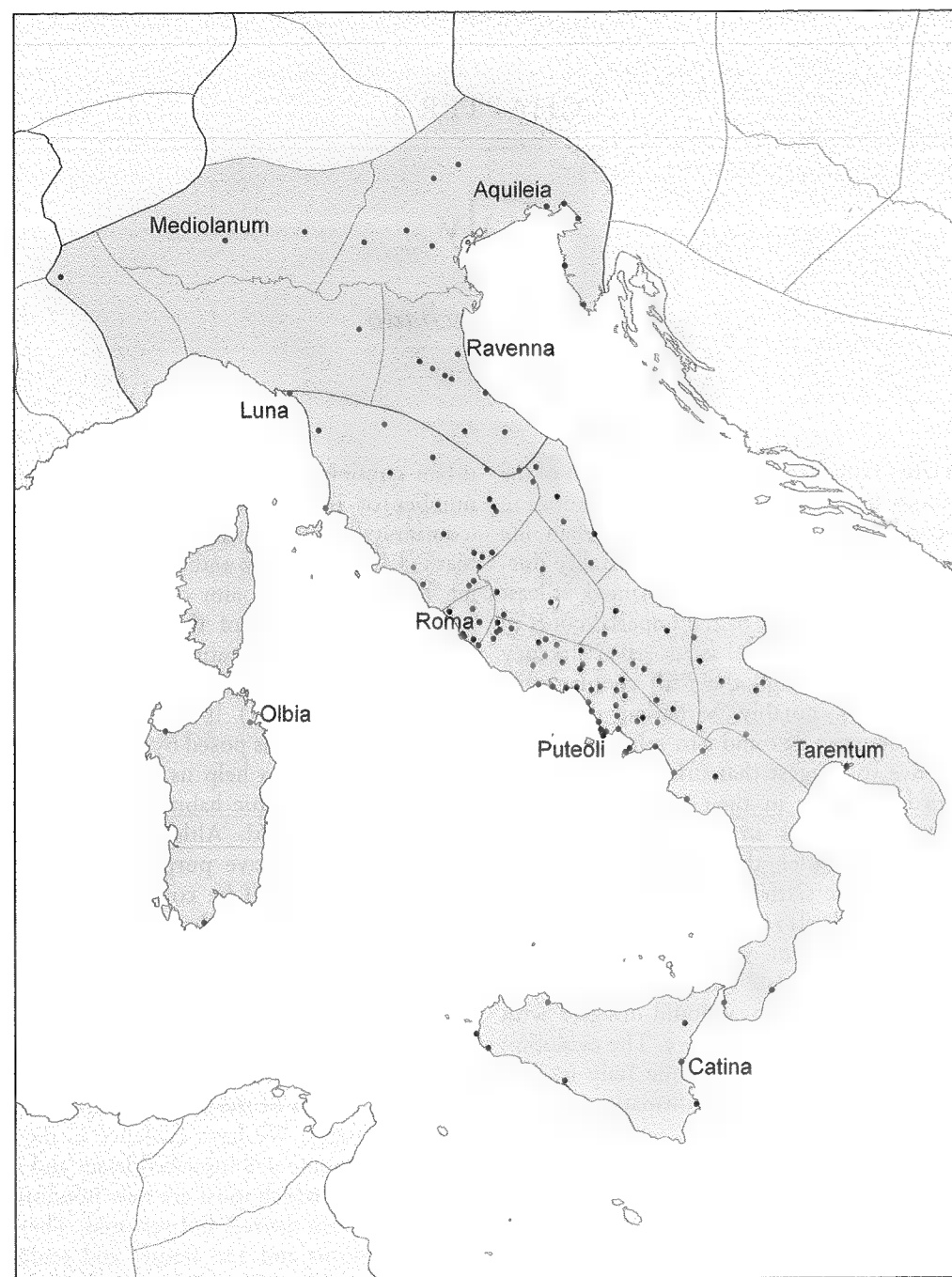


Fig. 3.1 Italy. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

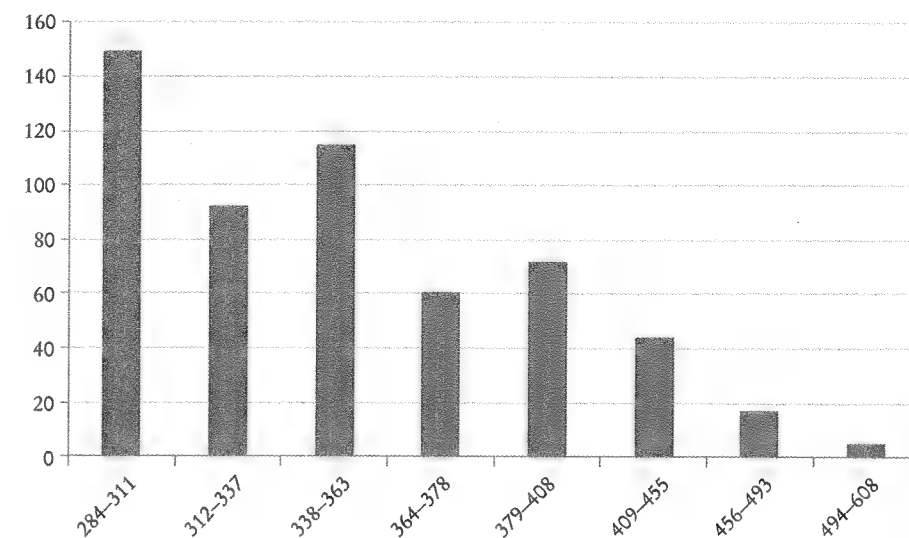


Fig. 3.2 Italy (including Rome). Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty. Total = 555 (omitted are 153 undated or undatable bases).

the statue habit it is worth focusing on the datable statue bases (Fig. 3.2). The most intense period of activity was the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, before Constantine defeated Maxentius at the Milvian bridge in 312. A total of 149 statue bases in this period give an average of 5.3 per year. This is a low figure when compared with earlier periods,³ but it is higher than any other region of the empire during the tetrarchy. The average number of dedications fell to 3.5 per year during the reign of Constantine and remained more or less stable until the Theodosian period after 379, when it again fell, to 2.4 per year. A much sharper drop occurred after 408, and the numbers never rose again. The Italian statue habit was, to all intents and purposes, dead by the end of the fifth century.

While almost half of the closely provenanced material from Italy is from the city of Rome, the rest of the peninsula has also produced rich

evidence (Fig. 3.3).⁴ If we set aside the evidence of surviving statuary, and compare the numbers of bases in the different regions of the Mediterranean, Italy (outside Rome), with some 334 inscribed bases, comes second in quantity only to North Africa, with 359.⁵

It is also important, however, to consider the striking regional diversity within Italy. As we can see in Fig. 3.3, the statue habit varied greatly between the different Italian provinces. Campania—with 170 statue bases, more than the rest of Italy outside Rome put together (164)—stands out clearly, and we will return later to its exceptional wealth of material. Even among the other provinces, however, one can see considerable differences. Venetia et Histria and Tuscia et Umbria (each with 29) rank high above provinces such as Alpes Cottiae (3), Sardinia (5), Aemilia (2), and Liguria (2). For Alpes Cottiae and Sardinia, this can be explained by a relatively low

³ Smith (1985: 217) estimates an average of eight *surviving* imperial statues per year for the whole empire during the principate.

⁴ Precise regional statistics for Italy are rendered difficult to establish by the existence of considerable quantities of poorly provenanced sculpture first recorded on the antiquarian market or already in private collections (99 entries in LSA, around 10% of the Italian evidence).

⁵ Asia Minor has c.250.

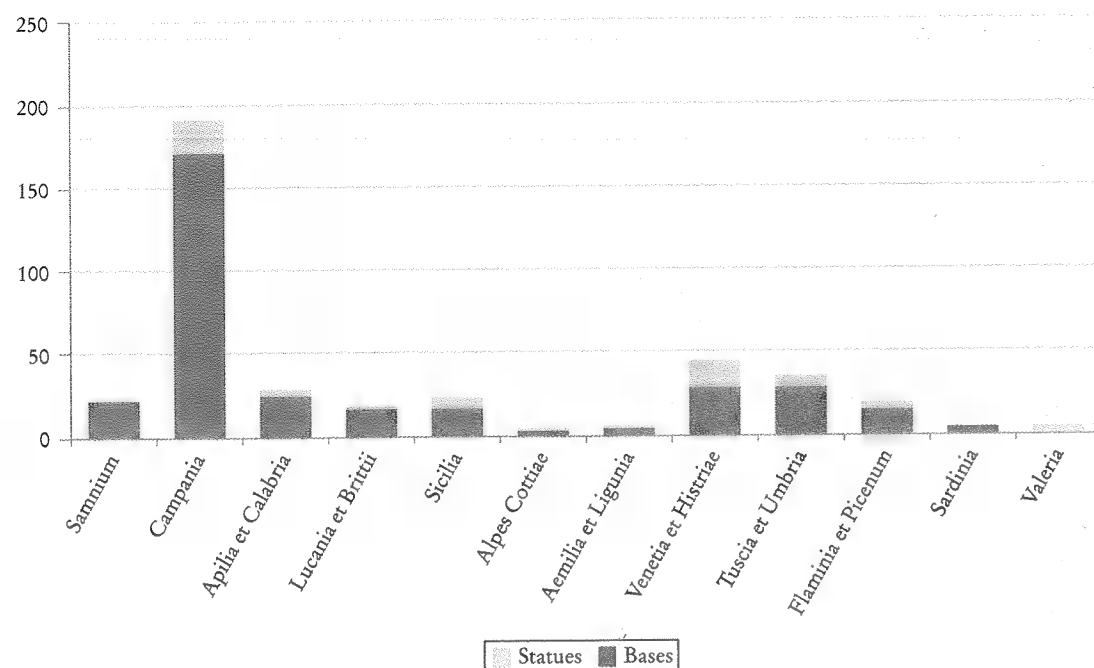


Fig. 3.3 Italy (excluding Rome). Inscribed bases and surviving statuary by province. Total = 402.

level of urbanism (and there is no evidence at all from Corsica), but the small number for Aemilia and Liguria is more puzzling. Milan was an imperial residence for most of the fourth century, and its increased political importance was matched by a vast building programme that was under way from at least tetrarchic times.⁶

When we consider the geographic distribution of dedications, the late antique statue habit appears thinly and unevenly distributed. Italy was a heavily urbanized part of the Mediterranean world, and its 450 or so cities had undergone a remarkable process of expansion and embellishment under the earlier empire.⁷ But only 136 of these communities have produced evidence of late antique bases or statuary (some 400 pieces).⁸ On average, even the Italian cities

where statuary is documented produce evidence for only 2.9 statues per city over the whole late antique period. Furthermore, within this picture there is much variation: cities such as Aquileia (with 25), Beneventum (26), and Puteoli (33) have produced relatively large quantities of evidence, whereas localities such as Abella in Campania, and Clusium in Tuscia et Umbria, have produced only one base each. Dedicating a statue was a rare and important occasion, a very specific way of celebrating a highly placed individual and of embellishing the city. We should bear this in mind when we consider the general features of the statue habit.

THE STATUE HABIT IN LATE ANTIQUE ITALY

In general, statues continued to be set up for the same reasons and on the same occasions as in earlier periods. They were part of the local economy of honours, celebrating and rewarding local

⁶ A point well argued by Cantino Wataghin (1992: 174–5). For a recent overview, see Haug (2012: 112–18).

⁷ Purcell (2000: 423).

⁸ I am excluding the 99 pieces of statuary whose provenance is uncertain and, of course, the material from Rome.

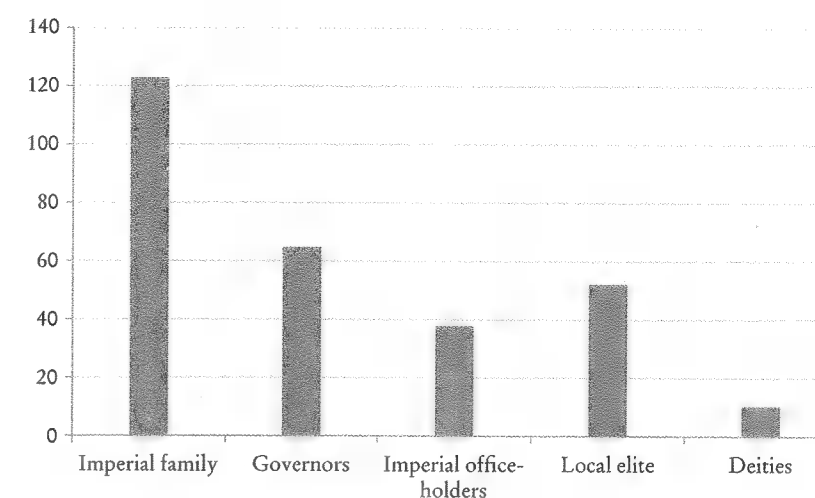


Fig. 3.4 Italy (excluding Rome). Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 288 (omitted are 46 bases for honorands of unknown or unstated status).

benefactors and patrons for their services.⁹ Sometimes statues were part of the benefaction: a bronze plaque from the city of Amiternum records the generosity of one C. Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius, a local notable who restored and embellished the city baths with sculpture (LSA 1788). By dedicating honorific monuments to emperors, governors, and senatorial patrons, Italian communities celebrated and reinforced their links to those who occupied the highest positions of power.¹⁰ Honorific statuary to living persons dominates the evidence, but, as in the Aegean provinces, there are also some new portraits of philosophers and intellectuals from the past—men who personified the cultural values still appreciated in the educated circles of society, whether displayed in public or in private spaces.¹¹

As a glance at the distribution of inscribed statue bases shows, those honoured with statues in late antique Italy were a diverse group (Fig. 3.4). Emperors and members of their families received

by far the largest number of dedications (36.8 per cent of the epigraphic evidence) and could attract exceptional monuments, such as colossal or equestrian statues.¹² They could also receive posthumous dedications, as several statue bases show.¹³ The pressure to display commitment to the ruling power can be seen clearly in two bases found at Luna. The first base (LSA 1617) bears an honour for Diocletian in 286. The other sides of the base bear inscriptions recording earlier honours: one to the former emperor Carinus, of only three years earlier. The second base has an inscription to another tetrarchic emperor, Galerius (LSA 1619) (Fig. 3.5). This base had also been used on previous occasions (including for a dedication to Magnia Urbica, wife of Carinus). A few years later, it was turned around and re-used once more, this time to honour the emperor Maxentius (LSA 1618).

While imperial statuary constituted the largest individual group, statues to other prominent figures were also set up in Italy. Indeed, as a

⁹ Typical examples: LSA 1632 and 1633, to two brothers.

¹⁰ See, e.g. LSA 1615 from Mutina, to Constantius I (Fig. 3.8); 328 from Venafrum, to a governor; and 1850 from Salernum, to a senatorial patron.

¹¹ e.g. LSA 712 (Plato), 2440 (Demosthenes), 2442 (Isocrates), and 2511 (Socrates). See further Ch. 21 (Lenaghan).

¹² e.g. LSA 896 (colossal) and 1922 (equestrian). Non-imperial subjects could occasionally be represented in grand formats: LSA 1661 honours an imperial official at Ostia with an equestrian monument.

¹³ e.g. LSA 1927 (to the deified Constantine) and 1695 (to Theodosius the Elder, father of Theodosius I).

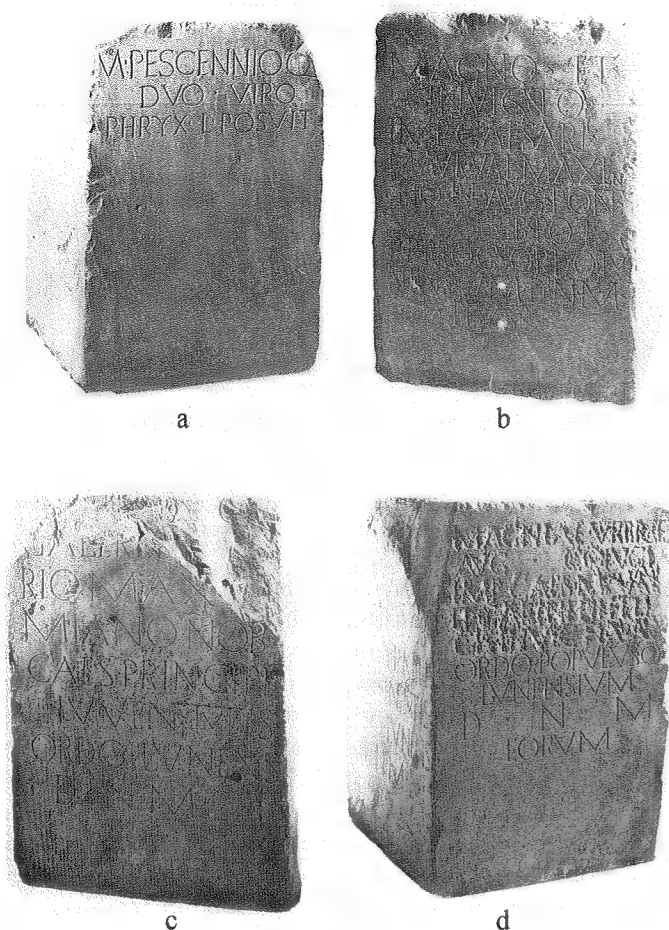


Fig. 3.5 Inscribed base, re-used four times. From Luna. For statue of Galerius (293–305), for statue of Maxentius (307) (LSA 1618, 1619), and previously for Magnia Urbica and a local man. La Spezia, Museo Archeologico. H: 82.5 cm.

proportion of the total evidence, statue inscriptions to emperors (at some 36.8 per cent) are proportionally less in Italy than in any other region of the empire. Elsewhere imperial honours represent around 50–60 per cent of the epigraphic evidence. The lower proportion from Italy, however, is not due to any lack of devotion to the emperors: 123 imperial bases from Italy outside Rome (with a further 125 in Rome itself and eleven from Ostia) compare favourably, for example, with 127 from Asia Minor. What

differentiates Italy from other regions is its high number of inscriptions recording other honours and other forms of statuary.

As elsewhere in the empire, provincial governors were one group frequently honoured (constituting 19.5 per cent of total Italian dedications), as were other higher-ranking office-holders, such as consuls and praetorian prefects (constituting 11.4 per cent). Members of the local municipal elite are present in numbers far reduced from early imperial times, but at 15.6 per cent they still

constitute a substantial proportion of the whole. It was common for all these non-imperial honours (local notables, governors, and other imperial office-holders alike) also to be described as 'patrons' (*patroni*) of the community that awarded the statue—a fact that indicates the importance of this link in late imperial Italy.¹⁴ Of the 172 dedications to *patroni* in the LSA database, the large majority are from Italy, seventy-seven from Campania alone.¹⁵

Statues of deities and personifications continued to be set up well into the fourth century. This was a traditional and prestigious form of dedication, as shown by the fact that the only two statues set up by emperors in Italy outside Rome were for Apollo Belenus and Jupiter.¹⁶ The most puzzling of this class of honours are two statue bases from Tuscia et Umbria, inscribed simply *DEO/ROMULO* ('to the god Romulus') without any indication of why or by whom they were set up.¹⁷

Besides honorific statues, a number of inscriptions (c. 10 per cent of the inscribed Italian bases) record the re-erection or repair of statues whose subject is not mentioned ('unstated' honorees). These inscriptions, which are heavily concentrated in Rome, are usually seen as referring to the restoration and/or movement of statues of deities and cultural figures (such as ancient philosophers) to new locations (as occasionally the inscriptions tell us).¹⁸ This is a reasonable assumption, since an honorific monument would have required the identifying name of the

person honoured. Such concern with older monuments was a sign of cultural conservatism at a time of religious change and of a desire to preserve an ageing monumental infrastructure.¹⁹

Scholars have often taken this traditionalism in the range of statue dedications as proof that late civic life was as dynamic as in earlier periods. This interpretation is suggested by the number of honours for members of the local elite, who often occupied traditional magistracies and invested in festivals, public buildings, and imperial cult.²⁰ A notable example is the dedication at Clusium in Tuscia et Umbria to L. Tiberius Maefanas Basilius, a former holder of the mysterious (and archaic) praetorship of the fifteen peoples (Fig. 3.6). Basilius was honoured by the city for

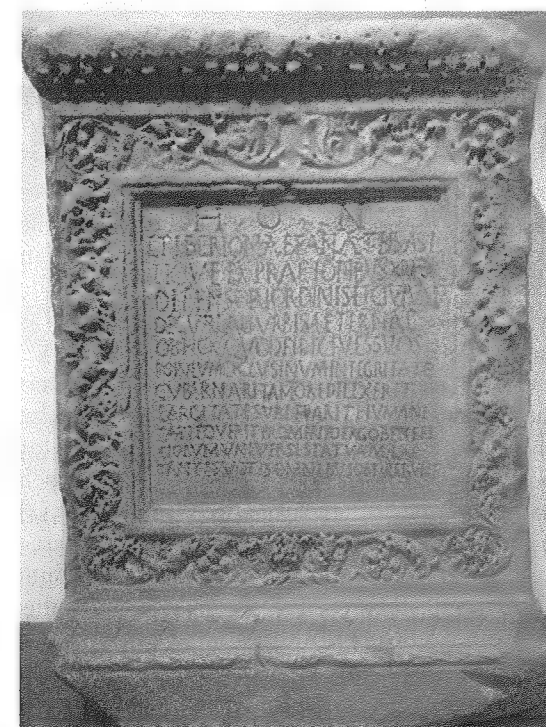


Fig. 3.6 Base for statue of L. Tiberius Maefanas Basilius, local notable. From Clusium. Early fourth century, LSA 1623. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

¹⁴ A point explored by Cecconi (1994: 133–41) for aristocratic officials in general; see also Matthews (1990: 17).

¹⁵ Other than in Italy, the statue bases that mention patrons are almost all in the North African provinces (where there are 39). Elsewhere, the status of 'patron' existed but for some reason is only rarely recorded on statue bases: LSA 2007 Malaca (Baetica), LSA 1142 Salona (Dalmatia), LSA 378 Mursa (Pannonia Secunda, but set up by the Gallic province of Lugdunensis Tertia), LSA 17 Corinth (Achaia), LSA 619 Termessus Maior (Psidia), and LSA 1148 Bostra (Arabia).

¹⁶ LSA 1215 (Aquilaia) and 2032 (Fabrateria Nova), respectively. Both were dedicated in the name of Diocletian.

¹⁷ LSA 2683 (Fulginiae) and 2684 (Sestinum), on which see Paci (1996: 141).

¹⁸ Of c. 150 such inscriptions in the LSA database, almost half (74) are from the city of Rome with Portus and Ostia.

¹⁹ See the argument of Lepelley (1994: 10).

²⁰ Lepelley (1992b: 355–61), discussing LSA 1638.

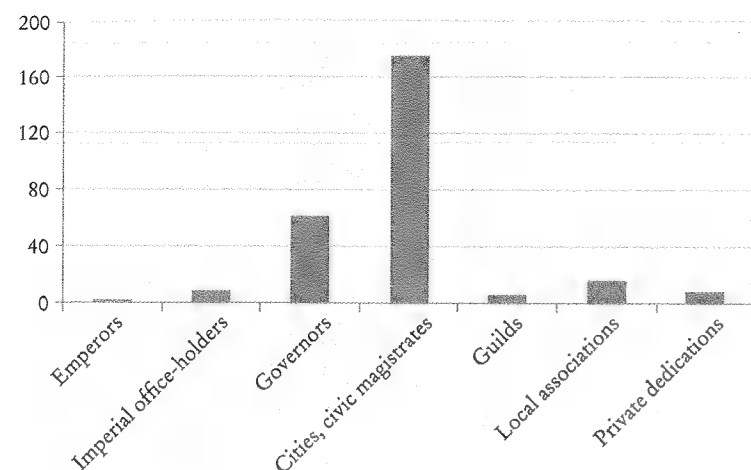


Fig. 3.7 Italy (excluding Rome). Those awarding statue honours, as recorded on inscribed bases. Total = 280.

the goodwill he had shown towards 'his citizens and the people of Clusium' during his time as *defensor*, probably in the early fourth century.²¹ The continued role of civic office-holders and traditional forms of political association were also important in this context: the epigraphic record shows that more than half of all Italian honours outside Rome (52.4 per cent) were made by local office-holders and organizations such as the *ordo*, *populus*, and even the *plebs* (Fig. 3.7).

As we see in Fig. 3.7, other political associations are also recorded, albeit exceptionally. This is the case for guilds (1.8 per cent) and for local regional associations (5 per cent), which made a total of twenty-three (out of 334) inscribed dedications. Apart from one statue base, set up by a guild at Venafrum in Samnium (LSA 1977), all bases of this type, outside Rome, are from Campania. With local civic institutions accounting for nearly 60 per cent of all provincial honours in Italy, the late antique statue habit was, to a large extent, a local movement driven from below.

The other major group of awarders consisted of governors, who were active in almost all provinces of Italy. They were responsible for sixty-two

of 334 statue dedications (approximately 18.6 per cent).²² Whereas civic office-holders and assemblies set up honorific monuments to all categories of honorands—emperors, imperial office-holders (including governors), and local notables—using statues as a way of representing a wide variety of political and social allegiances—governors were exclusively concerned with honouring emperors and with the maintenance of older statues ('unstated' honorands).²³ In other words, we are dealing with two patterns of dedications: governors used statues as a way of expressing their loyalty to the imperial regime and to preserve and enhancing the appearance of the cities under their care; civic awarders, in contrast, were concerned with the establishment and consolidation of local political connections. This is well illustrated by a famous passage in Rutilius Namatianus' *De Reditu Suo*, in which he mentions the statue set up by the town of Pisa to his father, a former governor of Tuscia et Umbria.²⁴ Rutilius' emotional response to this honour paid

²² The only Italian provinces for which we have no dedications by governors are Alpes Cottiae and Aemilia et Liguria.

²³ The only exceptions are LSA 1640 (to a deity), 1678 (unstated), and 1788 (unstated), set up by local office-holders.

²⁴ *De Reditu Suo*, ll. 575–90; LSA 2677.

²¹ LSA 1623, with discussion and bibliography.

to his father is a good example of the lasting power of honorific statues.

REGIONAL TRAJECTORIES

It would be impossible to consider the differences between all the provinces of Italy in the space available here. It is possible, however, to look at regional trends, comparing the provinces south of Rome (Samnium, Campania, Apulia et Calabria, Lucania et Bruttii, and Sicilia) and those to the north (Alpes Cottiae, Aemilia, Liguria, Venetia et Histria, Tuscia et Umbria, Flaminia et Picenum, and Sardinia) (Figs 3.8 and 3.9 present representative examples).²⁵ The first element that strikes us is the general disparity between north (85 bases) and south (249 bases); this is a ratio of about 1:3.

The difference between north and south is not one of numbers alone, but also one of chronology. The two regions were responsible for a comparable number of statue bases during the tetrarchic period, but under Constantine the south is already setting up twice the number of honours. Statue dedications cease almost completely in the north towards the end of the fourth century,²⁶ while cities in the south dedicated statues up to the mid-fifth century, when the practice seems to have disappeared there too.

It is interesting that both regions dedicate statues (though only two each) during our final period, between the accession of Theoderic (AD 489) and the dedication of the column of Phocas in Rome (AD 608).²⁷ These late cases seem to represent a revival, albeit on a tiny scale, of earlier habits. Italy, indeed, seems to have retained an attenuated statuary habit much longer than any other region of the west: besides the late bases mentioned above, it has also produced a remarkable series of late fifth- or early sixth-century

²⁵ Raetia I and II are discussed in Ch. 5 (Witschel).

²⁶ The last recorded inscriptions in northern Italy are LSA 1240 (the moving of a statue in Verona) and 2677 (to a provincial governor in Pisa), both datable to before 400.

²⁷ From the north: LSA 1613 and 2751. From the south: LSA 328 and 2057.

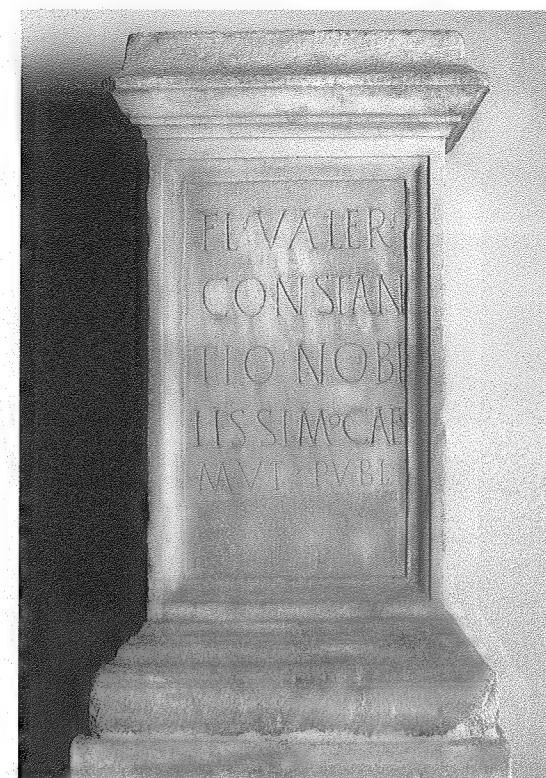


Fig. 3.8 Base for statue of Constantius I. From Mutina. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 1615. Modena, Museo Lapidario Estense. H: 148 cm.

heads, both female and male, of strikingly high quality, and so probably from busts.²⁸

When we consider the average number of dedications per year, we see that in both the north and the south there was a dramatic drop after the first decade of the fourth century. Whereas in the south the number of dedications remained relatively stable during the rest of the fourth century, in the north it tended to disappear earlier. Furthermore, there is a much larger number of dedications whose dating is uncertain from the south (c.75 per cent more) than from the north, which means that, if anything, our figures are biased against the former.

²⁸ LSA 760 (Milan); 758 (perhaps from Tusculum); 815 (from southern Italy); 755, 756, 757, and 1079 (from Rome).

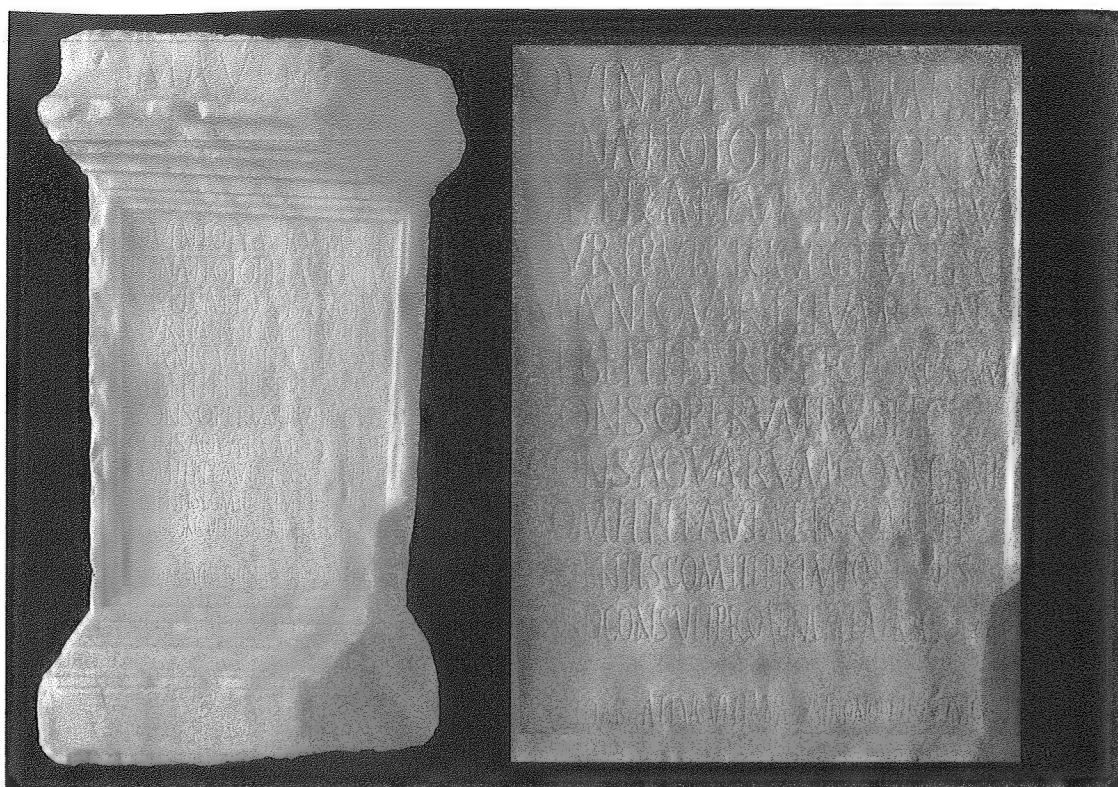


Fig. 3.9 Base for statue of Q. Fl. Maesius Lollianus, with detail of inscription. From Puteoli. 334–42, LSA 47. Castello di Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, inv. 320498. H: 148 cm.

It is difficult to explain the reasons for such an early decline in the northern cities. For instance, when we consider the relatively well-documented province *Tuscia et Umbria*, we find a diverse and sophisticated pattern of dedications to emperors, governors, and local notables well into the fourth century, when the dedications suddenly disappear.²⁹ There was no obvious change in the social structures of power or in the material culture that might explain such a sharp break. In fact, northern Italy was marked by an important degree of urban continuity, and archaeological work attests to continued interest in earlier urban structures, at least until the first

half of the fifth century.³⁰ It is true that other forms of expressing social and political values coexisted with the statue habit—we have only to remember the splendid mosaics set up in the churches of Ravenna (for which we do not have any statue bases for most of the fifth century), celebrating members of the lay imperial elite as well as the church hierarchy. This does not explain, however, why it was that communities should stop dedicating statues, choosing one medium of celebration over another.

North and south also present qualitative differences, especially in terms of who was involved in the statue habit. As we can see in Fig. 3.7, when

²⁹ For a detailed analysis of *Tuscia et Umbria*, see Machado and Ward-Perkins (2012).

³⁰ Although, as Ward-Perkins (1984: 24) observes, the evidence is concerned primarily with restorations.

we consider those who made the awards, they were basically the same in the north and south. Governors dedicated 18.8 per cent of all northern statues and 18.5 per cent of all of those in the south. The same is true of provincial assemblies, institutions, and office-holders (52.9 and 52.2 per cent, respectively). The main difference, apart from the overall numbers involved, lies in the fact that local associations and guilds were still active awarders in southern Italy, whereas the same is not true for the north.

A stark difference between north and south, however, emerges when we consider the distribution of dedications by types of honorand (Fig. 3.4). Honours for emperors dominate the statue habit in the north, making up 58.8 per cent of all our inscriptions. The next largest number of honours is to members of the local municipal elite, 11.8 per cent. Governors represent only 4.7 per cent of the 85 dedications recorded. Emperors and members of their families also received the largest number of honours in the south, but in a much smaller proportion (29.3 per cent). Governors (24.5 per cent) are not far behind, followed by members of the local elite and by imperial office-holders. It seems clear that cities in different parts of Italy made different decisions concerning whom to honour. As we saw in Fig. 3.7, governors were responsible for approximately 18 per cent of dedications in both areas, and the epigraphic record shows that they were only involved in either imperial or 'unstated' dedications. In other words, the differences between the types of honorands chosen in the north and the south were due to the decisions of local awarders.

How can we understand these regional differences? One possible explanation is that, being closer to the imperial court, northern communities favoured demonstrations of loyalty to the reigning emperor over all other types of dedication. Southern communities instead paid greater attention to office-holders who exercised local influence, such as governors and city notables. This is supported by considering the role of patrons. A good number of the governors honoured (twenty-five out of sixty-one) and a clear

majority of local notables (thirty-one out of forty-two) were also local patrons. This factor may help to explain the relatively high number of honours for imperial office-holders.

A good example of this strategy of combining public office and personal connections is a series of inscribed dedications from Puteoli from the period 334–42. The bases record honours to Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, a senator who occupied positions in Rome before being appointed governor of Campania (Fig. 3.9). He then embarked on a successful career at the court and in imperial administration, until he was made proconsul of Africa *Proconsularis*.³¹ The dedications were made by different local associations, which had probably co-opted Lollianus as a patron during his governorship of Campania. The relationship was not loosened after he left that office, as our inscriptions—datable to a later stage in his career—show. The relationship between Puteoli and Lollianus was actually reinforced: his son was also honoured as a patron at what was certainly an early stage in his political career (LSA 335, where he is referred to as *clarissimus puer*). The same kind of strategy could be adopted on a local level. This is shown by another group of dedications, involving the family of Tannonius Chrysantius, a member of the elite of Puteoli.³² Chrysantius, a *vir perfectissimus*, was honoured as a patron on two occasions during the second half of the fourth century (LSA 45 and 1911). His wife, Vibia Luxuria, and his son, Tannonius Bononius Chrysantius, were also honoured with statues (respectively, LSA 1919 and 1914). It was probably during this period that Chrysantius (the father) assisted in the work of the governor Virius Audentius Aemilianus, as we know from a base recording the moving of statues (subjects unstated), probably in Liternum (LSA 1921).³³ Chrysantius was later appointed governor (*consularis*) of the province

³¹ See LSA 43 (with its statue, LSA 44), 47, 332, and 1909. On Lollianus, see *PLRE* I, Lollianus 5.

³² For the family of Chrysantius and a full discussion of these dedications, see Camodeca (1980–81: esp. 111).

³³ The dedication was supervised by Chrysantius, but made in the name of the governor.

of Byzacena, reaching the rank of *vir clarissimus*, when the city of Puteoli honoured him with yet another statue.³⁴

It is not a coincidence that these examples of the political use of statues should come from Campania. As mentioned above, this province is the source of the largest collection of statue honours in late antique Italy outside Rome—with 170 bases and substantial parts of twenty-one statues. The borders of Campania were modified on a number of occasions, incorporating at the time of Diocletian the Augustan Regio I and a few years later the territory of Beneventum.³⁵ Besides the size of the province, the high number of dedications is probably related to the strong presence of Roman aristocrats in the area. Many senators owned Campanian properties, and the governorship of Campania was frequently occupied by members of the Roman aristocracy.³⁶ The average number of dedications per year declined by more than half in the first decades of the fourth century (from 1.4 to 0.6). It rose again during the Valentinianic period (to 1 per year)—though the majority of these inscriptions record the repair or relocation of statues (rather than new dedications)—after which the number declined steadily until its complete disappearance by the middle of the fifth century. Although on a much smaller scale, the evolution of the statue habit here resembles that of the city of Rome (Fig. 10.2)—a parallel that reinforces the close relationship between the two cases.

It is probably as a result of this proximity to Rome that Campanian towns honoured as many governors as emperors (respectively, thirty-six and thirty-four bases). This is the more striking because we have no record of a Campanian dedication to a governor for the tetrarchic period.

The series only starts under Constantine, when Campanian governors were promoted from the rank of *correctores* to that of *consulares*.³⁷ From then onwards, governors tended to receive more dedications than the emperors whom they represented. Statue dedications to emperors in fact disappear after the accession of Theodosius I. We should be careful, however, not to exaggerate the impact of aristocratic governors in the Campanian record. There is an equal or slightly greater number of statue honours for local notables (thirty-seven in total). Giuseppe Camodeca recently showed how local elites played an important role as patrons of communities in the fourth century.³⁸ Since our knowledge of local institutions and offices is limited, relatively few dedications to local benefactors are datable, but we have good evidence nonetheless for their continuation into the fifth century.

The importance of local political ties is clear. Governors played an important role in the shaping of Campania's population of statues—they instigated almost 15 per cent of all inscribed statue dedications (c.25 of 170). And, except in the Valentinianic period, local institutions and local office-holders were consistently the most active group in setting up statues. A good illustration of the importance of local initiative is provided by the geographic distribution of Campanian statue bases. The provincial capital, Capua, was an important focus of activity with fourteen bases. It was not, however, the most important centre for statue dedications. Beneventum and Puteoli, with twenty-six bases each, were apparently even more active in this respect. More importantly, several centres of lesser importance attest to a perhaps surprising enthusiasm for granting statue honours—such as Neapolis (eleven bases), Lavinium (nine), Nola (nine), and Surrentum (six). The case of Campania is a powerful example of how statues continued to

³⁴ The inscription is in the course of publication by G. Camodeca, who kindly shared his information with me and allowed its publication in our database as LSA 1912.

³⁵ See discussion in Savino (2005: 18–21). The province lost territory after the creation of Samnium in the mid-4th c. Scholars observe different boundaries (as Camodeca 2010: 283–4). Here, 'Campania' refers to its post-Constantinian limits (including Beneventum but excluding Samnium).

³⁶ See Matthews (1990: 14).

³⁷ In 324: see Cecconi (1994: 61). Camodeca (2010: 287–92) presents a useful overview of all inscriptions relating to governors datable to the late 3rd and 4th c., not only statue dedications.

³⁸ Camodeca (2010: 292–3).

play an important role in local civic life, but only where the circumstances were right.

CONCLUSION

We should be careful not to take Campania as typical of southern Italy or, indeed, of the peninsula as a whole. At the same time, the evidence available for this province is a good reminder of the importance of local communities in the continuation of the statue habit. As discussed above, there was a clear connection between the continuity of civic politics and the practice of setting up statues. All over Italy, emperors, governors, powerful imperial office-holders, city office-holders, and benefactors continued to be honoured with public statue monuments. Governors, imperial office-holders, private awarders, and different local institutions (from city councils to guilds) also took part in this practice, honouring their patrons and protectors and embellishing the cityscape. As the case of Campania shows, this practice continued in some places well into the fifth century.

We should also not exaggerate the continuity of the statue habit. In the cities of northern Italy, the dedication of statues declined steadily or fitfully from the time of Constantine onwards. This

is true even for a province as rich in statues as Tuscia et Umbria. Communities to the south of Rome continued to dedicate statues after 400, but even here, the decline in the number of dedications is unmistakable, falling to 0.2 statues dedicated per year between 409 and 455. The most obvious explanation for this fall-off in numbers is the inexorable decline in the status of civic politics. The crisis brought about by barbarian invasion in the first decade of the fifth century almost certainly accelerated this process, but it cannot explain the disappearance of the statue habit in the north long before 400, and even in the south, it is better seen as a catalyst than as a root cause.

Italian cities are not only rich in inscribed bases and surviving statuary but also better documented than those of most other regions of the late antique world. They provide us, therefore, with an exceptionally clear insight into the late antique statue habit, its main characteristics, and the lines of its evolution. Urban communities in Italy remained potent cultural and political entities in late antiquity, but they also underwent profound internal changes, particularly in their political structures and in the ways their identities were expressed. The end of the statue habit is a significant index of these transformations.

North Africa

Gabriel de Bruyn and Carlos Machado

This chapter considers the evolution and main characteristics of the statue habit in the diocese of Africa, which included (from west to east) the provinces of Mauretania Caesariensis, Mauretania Sitifensis, Numidia, Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Tripolitania (Fig. 4.1).¹ It also considers Mauretania Tingitania, which although located in the northwest of Africa was part of the diocese of Hispaniae (Fig. 4.1).² The history and archaeology of the late antique cities of North Africa have deservedly attracted attention, and the picture that we have today is one of vibrant dynamism, at least until the Vandal invasion in 429.³ Furthermore, in recent years there has been renewed scholarly interest in the North African statue habit, especially with regard to the contexts of display of statuary in civic complexes.⁴

The area under consideration provides one of the richest collections of inscriptions recording the dedication of statues in the whole empire. There are some 359 inscribed bases (Figs 4.2 and 4.3) and 42 (Fig. 4.4) statuary items known

from the period between 284 and 428.⁵ The largest number of epigraphic, sculptural, and textual items date from the beginning of our period, between 284 and 312: 108 dedications, or 27 per cent of the total 401 (Fig. 4.5). The number of statues set up then declined steadily during the first half of the fourth century, until it rose again during Valentinianic times to an average of 3.7 dedications per year (from 1.8 in the preceding period). This evolution is paralleled by the number of public works carried out in later fourth-century African cities, and we shall return to this connection later in this chapter. It is important to note, however, that this was an exceptional phase; decline resumed thereafter in dramatic fashion until the complete disappearance of the statue habit by the early fifth century.

Any study of the statue habit in late antique North Africa should take account of its major regional differences (Figs 4.1 and 4.6). Africa Proconsularis (with 153 entries in the database), Tripolitania (108), and Numidia (94) are responsible between them for 89 per cent of all the available evidence (Fig. 4.7).⁶ At the other end of the spectrum, the three Mauretaniae (Tingitania, Caesariensis, and Sitifensis) preserve only

¹ The material in this chapter concerning bases for the imperial family is by Gabriel de Bruyn, that on non-imperial statuary by Carlos Machado.

² As attested by the *Laterculus Veronensis* and the *Notitia Dignitatum*; see Jones (1964: 1453, app. 3).

³ The essential reference remains Lepelley's study of the region's urban civilization, in two volumes (1979 and 1981). The author returned to this topic in more recent years, most importantly in Lepelley (2006).

⁴ See the essential works of Zimmer (1989) and Kleinwächter (2001) for fora; Witschel (2007: 140–57) for late antiquity.

⁵ Our numbers are slightly different from those obtainable by searches in the LSA database, because some bases were dedicated on more than one occasion. In these cases, we have counted them as more than one dedication.

⁶ Respectively, 38.3, 26.5, and 24.3%.

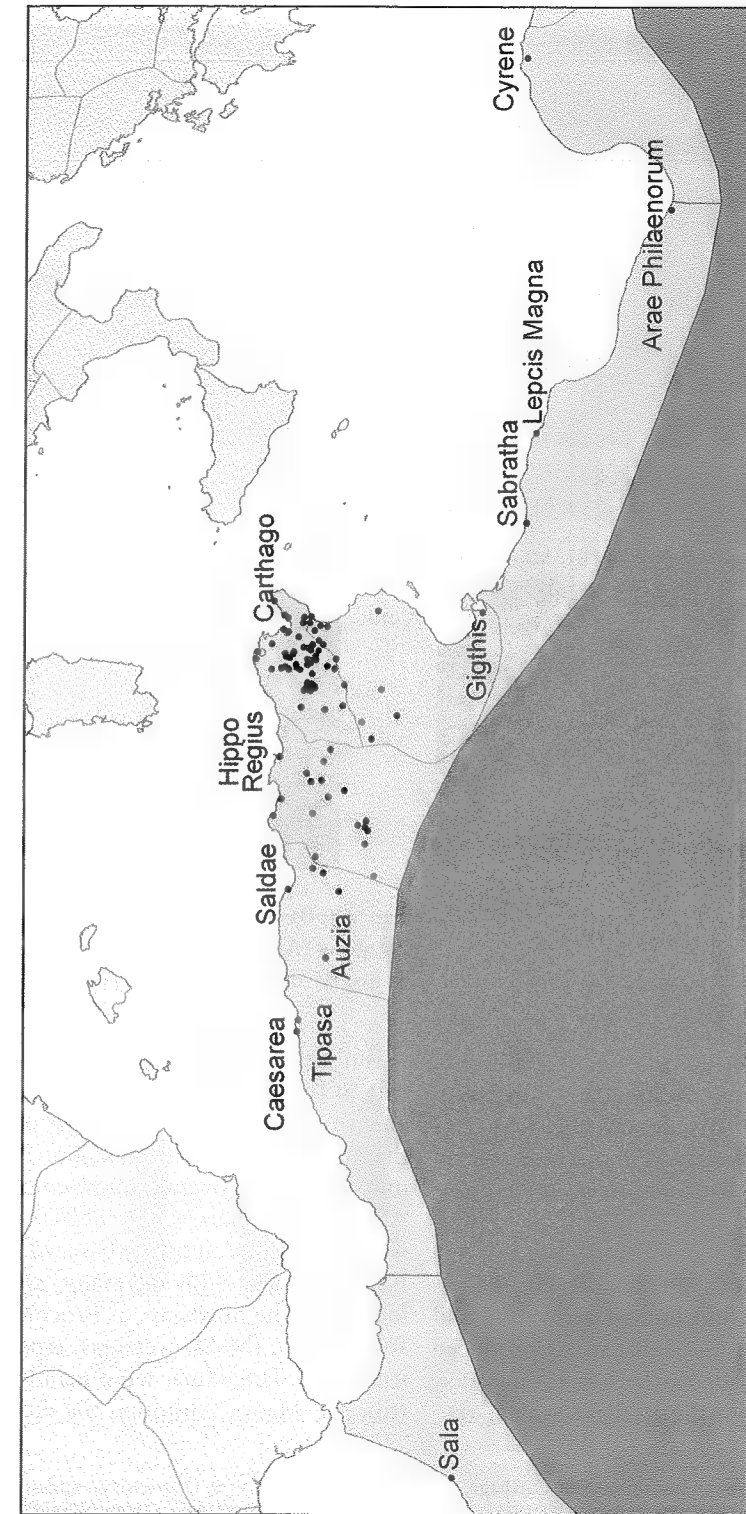


Fig. 4.1 North Africa. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.



Fig. 4.2 Base for statue of Constantius I, Cuicul. 301-2, LSA 2241. Cuicul, Old Forum. H: 109 cm.

nineteen dedications (4.7 per cent). Different rates of survival and recovery of statues and bases certainly play some part in creating this differential picture, since wholly abandoned sites that have been extensively excavated are much more likely to produce evidence than sites sealed under continuous occupation. Carthage, for instance, must have contained a large number of late antique statues, which would push the numbers from Proconsularis yet higher, but limited excavation and continued occupation mean that it has produced comparatively little evidence (far less, for instance, than Lepcis: 20 entries in the database, against 92).⁷

⁷ For a survey of the Roman inscriptions of Carthage, see Ladjimi Sebäi (2001).

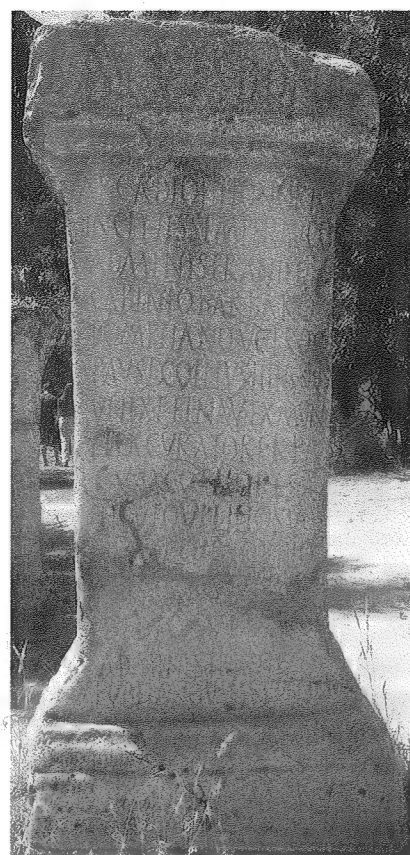


Fig. 4.3 Base for statue of unstated subject. From Neapolis (Africa Proconsularis). 400-401, LSA 2452. Tunis, Bardo Museum. H: 135 cm.

But other reasons played a more important role in the distribution of the evidence than the chance of discovery. In the first place, it is clear that the degree of urbanization of a province influenced the overall number of dedications. Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Numidia were the three most urbanized provinces in North Africa, with as many as 150 *civitates* located in the northeast of Proconsularis alone.⁸ By contrast, the Mauretaniae, especially Caesariensis and Tingitania, were mainly occupied by tribes of Mauri. Although the vitality of North

⁸ See Desanges et al. (2010) for an updated map and notices for all cities of North Africa from Numidia to Tripolitania.

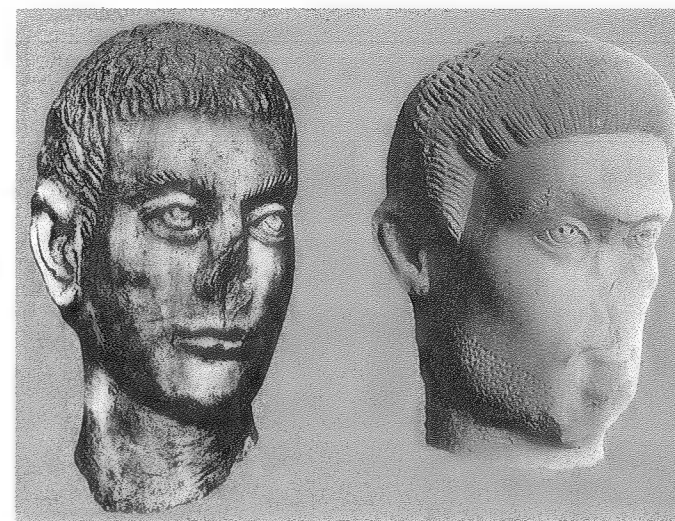


Fig. 4.4 Male portrait heads. From Tipasa (L) and Carthage (R). Fourth century, LSA 2388 and 1060. Algiers, Museum, and Carthage, National Museum. H: (both) 26 cm.

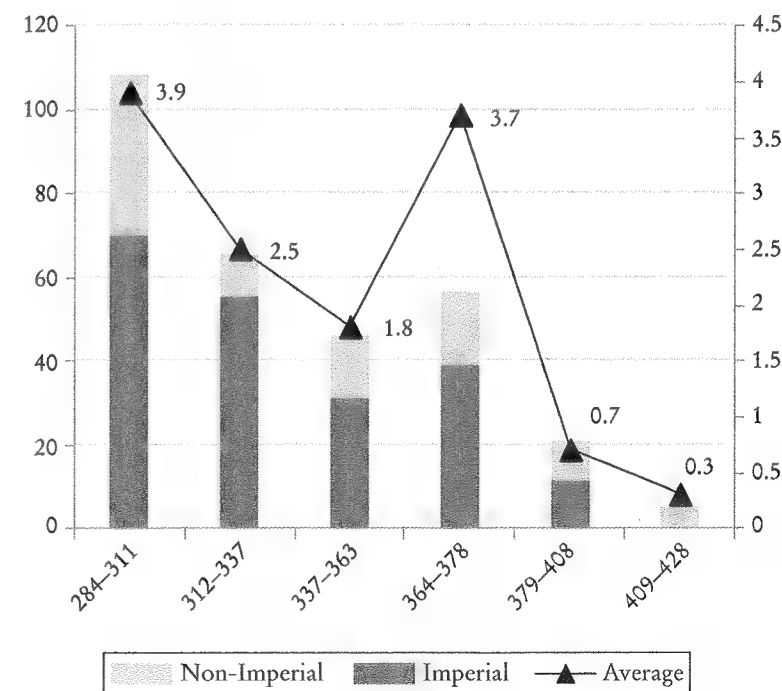


Fig. 4.5 North Africa. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty and yearly average. Total = 301.

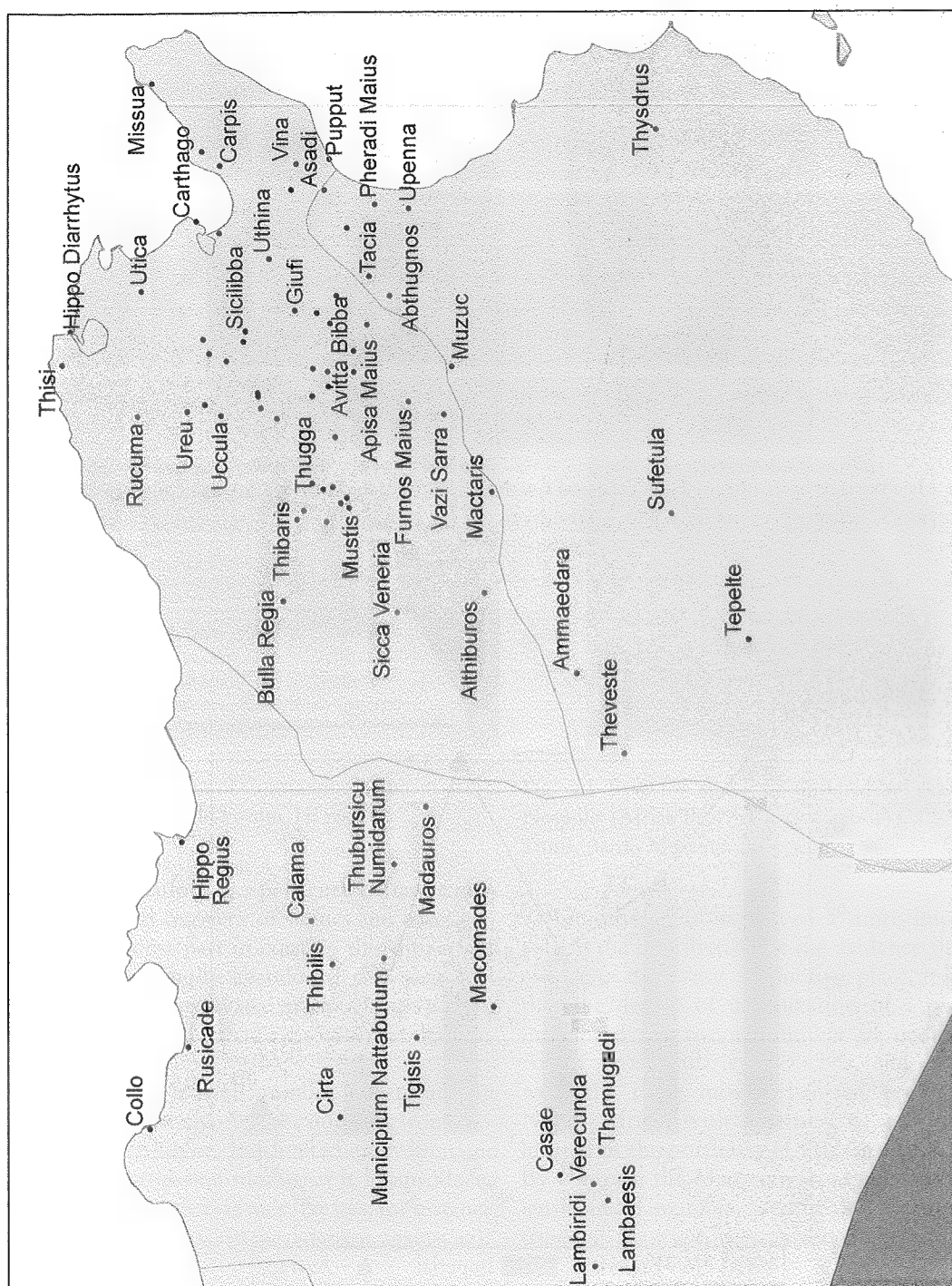


Fig. 4.6 Provinces of Numidia, Africa Proconsularis, and Byzacena. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

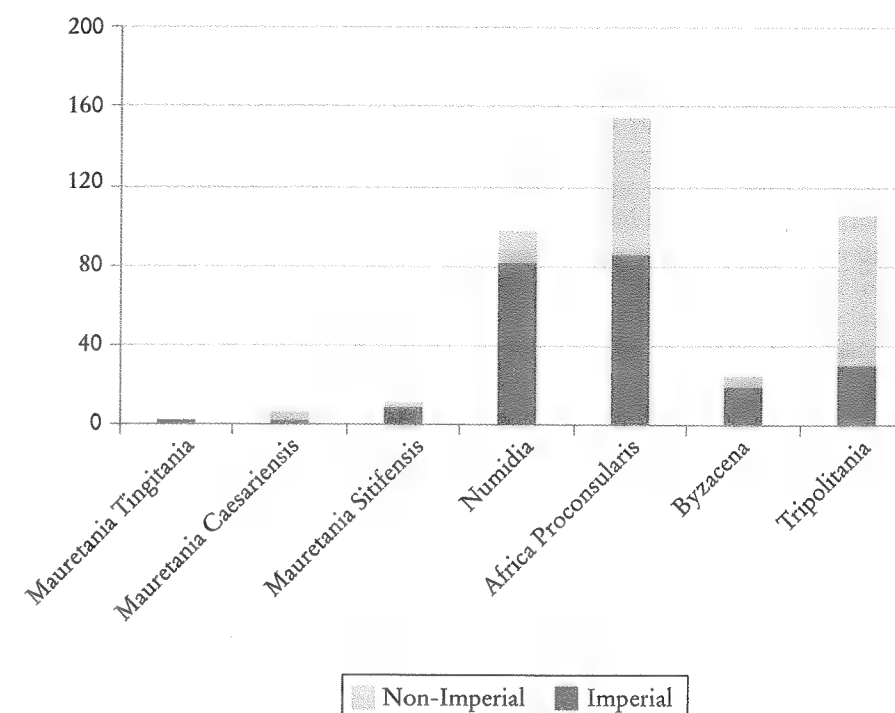


Fig. 4.7 North Africa. Evidence for late antique statue honours by province. Total = 400.

African urban life had a clear impact on the dedication of statues,⁹ it does not, however, explain everything. A well-urbanized province, Byzacena, is responsible for a meagre 24 entries in our database (6 per cent), whereas the impressive 108 from Tripolitania come from only four cities, with a remarkable 92 known from the provincial capital alone, Lepcis Magna.¹⁰

The geographical and chronological distribution of the North African material makes it difficult to treat in a systematic way. This is complicated further by the difference in the quality (for us) of the information given in imperial and non-imperial dedications. As Fig. 4.5 reflects,

40 per cent of all non-imperial dedications cannot be dated within a specific dynastic time-frame, whereas little (only 9.6 per cent) of the imperial material poses this same problem. We still know too little about the history and institutions of African cities to date civic inscriptions with confidence. This is also true (to a lesser extent) of honours for governors, as the provincial *fasti* of Africa are not as well recorded as, for example, those of Italy. For this reason, and also because each of us concentrated on different areas of the data, we have divided this chapter into two parts. The first part will consider the (better-dated) late antique dedications to emperors ('imperial dedications'), charting the evolution and rhythm of the statue habit, while the second part will focus specifically on the relationship between dedications of statues for non-imperial honorands ('non-imperial dedications') and local civic life.

⁹ See Wilson (2007: 294–318) for the Severan period.

¹⁰ The other cities are Sabratha and Gighis. The case of Lepcis is certainly exceptional, and is discussed in detail in Ch. 16 (Bigi and Tantillo).

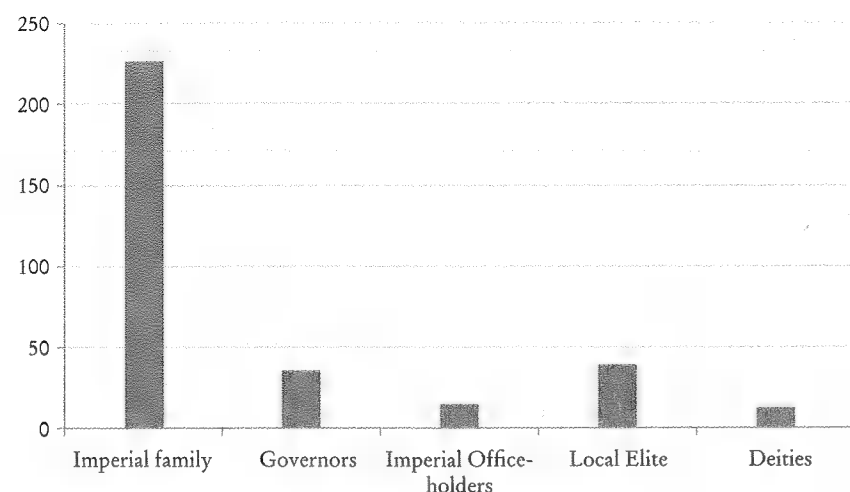


Fig. 4.8 North Africa. Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 326.

THE IMPERIAL DEDICATIONS

North Africa is responsible for one of the largest collections of statue dedications to imperial figures in the whole empire—behind only Italy and Rome in numbers, but considerably exceeding those regions if imperial dedications are measured as a proportion of the total regional statue-evidence (Fig. 4.8).¹¹ There is, however, great disparity between the available epigraphic record and the surviving statuary: only eight imperial portraits or statues are known to us from the entire region.¹²

¹¹ Dedications to emperors constitute some 57% (205 of 359) of the total epigraphic evidence in North Africa, whereas the figures for both southern Italy and Rome are about 28.5% and 36.5% for Rome (region), with 35.7% for Rome (city). Percentages elsewhere are closer to those from North Africa: almost 50% in Asia Minor, and over 55% in mainland Greece and northern Italy.

¹² Four statuary items in Africa Proconsularis: LSA 1029, 1061, 1062, and 1064. Two in Numidia: LSA 583 and 1121. And two in Tripolitania: LSA 853 and 1126. This is probably, in part, because North African statuary has not been published as fully as that, say, from Asia Minor; but it may also be due to a heavy dependence on bronze for statuary in a region without native sources of statuary marble; and survival rates for bronze are poor because it could so easily be melted down for re-use.

As already mentioned, the North African material is unevenly distributed (Figs 4.1, 4.6, and 4.7): two of the seven provinces, Proconsularis and Numidia, provide more than 80 per cent of the African imperial statue bases, whereas very few from the Mauretaniae are known. Only two imperial bases have been found in each of Mauretania Tingitania and Caesarensis, while Sitifis—the provincial capital, located near the border with Numidia—is responsible for half of the eight bases to emperors from Mauretania Sitifensis.¹³ The difference between Numidia, Proconsularis, and Byzacena is more surprising. Whereas in Proconsularis and Byzacena, the material is scattered fairly evenly among cities, it appears concentrated in fewer centres in Numidia.¹⁴ In Proconsularis, the average number of imperial statues or bases, for each city that has provided evidence, is a little below two, whereas in Numidia it is around six. The situation in Tripolitania is particular, because the vast majority of the

¹³ Mauretania Tingitania: LSA 2559 and 2560 (Sala). Caesarensis: LSA 2557 (Caesarea) and 2558 (Auzia). Sitifensis: LSA 2551, 2552, 2553, and 2554 (Sitifis) and LSA 2549, 2550, 2555, and 2556 (other cities).

¹⁴ For example, 9 imperial bases have been recorded in Cirta (LSA 2227–35) (2320 from Cirta-Constantina) and 15 in Lambaesis (LSA 2253–63 and 2412–15).

material comes from Lepcis Magna alone.¹⁵ Provincial capitals were naturally important centres for the dedication of imperial monuments, especially Sitifis, Cirta, and Lepcis Magna. As one would expect, the presence of governors had a notable impact on the representation of imperial power.

Periods of political instability could also lead to an expanded number of statue dedications. This can be seen between the end of the tetrarchic period and the beginning of the Constantinian regime. The rebellion of Domitius Alexander in 308–10, followed by its repression by Maxentius in 310–11, and finally by the victory of Constantine in 312, were occasions for the erasure of many dedications and the carving of new ones, especially in Numidian cities.¹⁶ Defacing a statue and its base, or erecting a new imperial statue, symbolized the recognition by the city concerned of the new emperor and the obliteration of the public record of his defeated rival. Such recognition could also reflect sincere gratitude, as in the case of Cirta.

The city was severely punished by Maxentius for its involvement in the usurpation of Alexander and was later favoured by Constantine, after his victory. The city was renamed Cirta Constantina, and at least six statues were dedicated after 312 to the new master of Africa.¹⁷

The large number of imperial statue bases dedicated throughout the fourth century, just over 200, is solid evidence for the vitality of North African cities in the late antique period (Fig. 4.8). The continued importance of the representation of imperial power was largely due to the endurance of a municipal culture that remained keen on displaying its commitment to

the ruling regime. In general, the rhythm of statue dedications seems to have been similar to that of construction or restoration of public buildings—a process analysed by Lepelley in a well-known study published in 1979.¹⁸ Images of the rulers were widely disseminated in the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods. The number of imperial dedications then declined under Constantine's sons, possibly due to the increased weight of imperial taxes on the cities. A lighter imperial tax policy under Julian and the Valentinianic dynasty was identified by Lepelley as the cause of a marked revival of public works in this period, with the greater availability of civic funds allowing increased activity.¹⁹ The same increase is noticeable in the case of statue dedications, which on average more than doubled (from 1.2 to 2.6 statues per year). It should, however, be noted that this Valentinianic resurgence, if brought about by a change in imperial taxation, ought to be evident in the statue evidence elsewhere in the empire, but it is notably absent from the other great statue-dedicating regions, southern Italy, and the Aegean.

After Valentinianic times, honours for the emperors dramatically fall until they disappear altogether by the beginning of the fifth century. Only six bases to emperors that can be dated with confidence to the Theodosian period (beginning in 379), and only two that have to be later than 393.²⁰ Dedications to emperors had ceased in Africa long before the region was affected by the Vandal invasions of 429–39. There is, furthermore, no evidence that the Vandal kings, unlike their Ostrogothic counterparts in Italy, ever developed a taste for honorific statuary; and the only evidence for a revival in statuary after the Justinianic 'reconquest' is a lost

¹⁵ From both Gigthis and Arae Philaenorum, one imperial base: respectively, LSA 1758 and 2832. From Sabratha, a head of an emperor, most probably a tetrarch (LSA 853), and five bases (LSA 2224, 2225, 2562, 2563, 2838). From Lepcis Magna, one imperial statue (LSA 1126) (Fig. 16.9) and 22 bases (LSA 2148–66, 2213, 2214, and 2223).

¹⁶ For examples in Cuicul: LSA 2239, 2240, and 2250. In Thamugadi: LSA 2373 and 2374. See also Zimmer (1989).

¹⁷ LSA 2228–33. The first four dedications can be dated to the beginning of Constantine's reign (before 317), soon after he seized North Africa.

¹⁸ Lepelley (1979: 74–8).

¹⁹ For the impact of imperial tax policies on North African cities, see *ibid.* 90–106.

²⁰ Four to Theodosius I (379–95): LSA 1882 and 1883 (both Mustis), LSA 1835 (Calama), and LSA 2159 (Lepcis). Two to Arcadius (383–408): LSA 1767 (Pupput) and 2160 (Lepcis). Two to Honorius (393–424): LSA 1832 (Avitta Bibba) and 2161 (Lepcis).

and somewhat dubious dedication to Justin II (565–78) from Carthage (LSA 2771).

Our picture of the chronological evolution of the statue habit is more diverse if we break it down by province. Numidia was responsible for almost half of all imperial dedications carried out during the tetrarchic period (thirty-three), an average of 1.17 statues per year. The province remained remarkably active during the reign of Constantine, dedicating an average of 0.88 imperial statues every year. The pace of dedications, however, declined after Constantine's death, and the statue habit seems to have been over by the end of the fourth century.²¹ Furthermore, three of the only five imperial dedications datable to 363–78 in Numidia were found in cities close to the border with Africa Proconsularis (in Thibilis (Announa) and Municipium Nattabutum), and they may well have been influenced by dedication practice in this neighbouring province.²²

There is no fully convincing explanation for the early end of the imperial statue habit in Numidia, though some possible factors can be suggested. Numidia was a Donatist bastion during the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, and this may have contributed to a lack of enthusiasm towards imperial power, particularly after a revival of persecution in the Valentinianic period.²³ Political and social instability caused by the Circumcellions (who were active in the mid-fourth century and into the time of Augustine) could also have had a negative effect.²⁴ Finally, the decline of Lambaesis may have had an impact on the diffusion of the imperial image in the south of the province. The city

had served as the base for the *Legio III Augusta* since the second century, and the legion played an important role, both in the dissemination of imperial ideology and as a source of economic stimulus.²⁵ The restructuring of the Roman army, and the loss of the city's status as a provincial capital, contributed to a decline of Lambaesis from Constantine onwards.²⁶

In Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Tripolitania, the imperial statue habit survived a little longer but faded rapidly after Valentinianic times, with, as we have seen, only six imperial dedications that post-date the accession of Theodosius I in 379 and only two that must post-date 393. This disappearance of imperial statuary by about AD 400 is similar to the pattern in southern Italy but strikingly different to that in Asia Minor, where there are considerable numbers of Theodosian dedications.²⁷ The disappearance in Africa is, however, particularly striking, since it followed closely on a Valentinianic boom in imperial statuary.

Inscriptions provide essential information about the agents and institutions responsible for awarding imperial statues (Fig. 4.9). Statues of emperors were most often set up by the cities, expressed as an act of the city in general or of its council (*ordo*). This is especially true in Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena, where local communities were responsible for more than three-quarters of our material. Urban communities and their office-holders were already keen participants in the erection of statues during the early empire, but our evidence points to two main developments in late antiquity. The *curator rei publicae* became increasingly associated with the setting up of imperial monuments, a reflection of the greater role played by this office in local

²¹ We have no secure evidence for a statue that could be later than LSA 2276, to Gratian (367–83). Two later inscriptions record dedications to Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, from Cuicul, but they probably do not refer to statues (BAC 1911, 112, no. 10, and 141, no. 13).

²² LSA 2266 (Municipium Nattabutum); LSA 2275 and 2276 (both Thibilis).

²³ On Donatism in North Africa: Frend (1983). For early 4th-c. toleration: Augustine, *Contra partem Donati post gesta*, 32. For renewed persecution: *CTh* 16.5.38 and 16.6.3–5.

²⁴ On Circumcellions: Augustine, *Letter* 87, and Gottlieb (1978).

²⁵ See Le Bohec (1989: 531–72).

²⁶ There is no epigraphic evidence for the presence of the *Legio III Augusta* at Lambaesis after the Tetrarchy (see Cagnat 1913: 728). Though this does not prove it had left the city, it certainly shows that the Roman army ceased to be a dynamic force in the region. On the decline of Lambaesis in the 4th c., see Duval (1995) and Janon (2005). On the military reforms, see Van Berchem (1952).

²⁷ See Chs 3 (Machado) and 8 (Lenaghan).

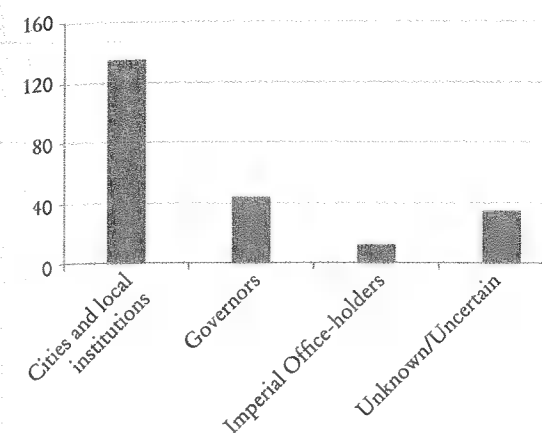


Fig. 4.9 North Africa. Those awarding statues recorded on bases for members of imperial family. Total = 226.

political life. At the same time, we do not have any example of an imperial statue offered by a local benefactor or in the context of a local political career.²⁸

Governors and other imperial office-holders (including military officers) played a more important role in the dissemination of imperial images in the provinces of Mauretania Sitifensis, Numidia, and Tripolitania, dedicating over a quarter of the imperial images in Numidia and Tripolitania. At Cirta (Numidia) and Sitifis (Mauretania Sitifensis), both provincial capitals, they were the principal or only attested source of imperial images. As in the rest of the empire, statues awarded by governors or imperial office-holders are far more common in the provincial capitals of Africa than in lesser cities.

During the fourth century, imperial statues were usually set up in the central areas of the cities, especially in fora. Here, they helped maintain the vitality and the traditional landscape of urban centres, and some fora provide remarkable information about the physical context of late imperial statuary displays. In some cases, they were erected in association with second-century

rulers who were judged to have been 'good emperors' and models of behaviour, or with those who founded the *municipium* or *colonia*. A good example is found in the city of Thubursicu Numidarum (Africa Proconsularis), where several inscriptions describe the restoration or completion of the *forum novum* by Flavius Attilius Theodotus, a legate of the proconsul, in 361–2. To decorate the new forum, Theodotus transferred statues from a place called the *platea vetus*, probably the old forum.²⁹ The statues that he moved were apparently those that still had a positive resonance in 361–2, while others no longer thought relevant were left behind.³⁰ Theodotus is known to have moved to the new forum a statue of Trajan, the founder of the *municipium* of Thubursicu, a colossal statue of an unnamed emperor, a statue of Constantine, and probably ones of Constantius I (Constantine's father) and Claudius II, whom Constantine claimed as an ancestor.³¹ The newly founded forum of Thubursicu Numidarum thereby created a gallery of good emperors, and of ancestors of the reigning dynasty, from the second to the beginning of the fourth century.

At Cuicul, late imperial statues were not set up in the Severan forum, but in the old forum, next to the older statues of second-century emperors (Fig. 4.2). The old forum remained the main space for the representation of imperial power in the fourth century, probably because of the prestigious presence of earlier imperial exempla.³²

²⁹ This traditional identification was criticized by Kleinwächter (2001: 258–308), but see Gros (2002: 595) for a convincing restatement of the traditional view.

³⁰ e.g. LSA 1181 (Diocletian).

³¹ LSA 2482 (Trajan), 2481 (unknown emperor), 1176 (Constantius I, but found in the baths next to the forum), 1182 (Constantine), and *ILAlg* I, 1268 (Claudius II). The bases to Constantius I and Claudius II do not mention that they had been moved, but they must have been, since they are older than the *forum novum* where they were found. A base dedicated to Aurelian, similar to that of Claudius II, was discovered in the old forum. This supports the hypothesis that the base of Claudius II was originally set up there.

³² Some prestigious exempla in the old forum of Cuicul: Hadrian (*ILAlg* II.3, 7778), *Divus* Antoninus Pius (*ILAlg* II.3, 7792), and Marcus Aurelius (*ILAlg* II.3, 7793 and 7798–9). See also Zimmer (1989: 20–21). On the

²⁸ For a brief survey of the situation under the high empire, see Højte (2005: 172).

Under the early empire, the representation of imperial power through statues helped to display dynastic continuity in the urban space, associating members of the *domus augusta*, including women and children, with the emperor. In late antiquity, however, emperors were not systematically associated with their families but rather installed close to prestigious predecessors, as a way of stressing the continuity of power. This was perhaps a consequence of the more 'abstract' character of imperial representation from the early fourth century, which tended to depersonalize the sovereign in favour of his function.³³ This helps explain one major change between the third and fourth centuries visible in Africa (as in other regions): the almost complete disappearance of the women of the imperial house from the statue landscape. The only exception is Helena, mother of Constantine, honoured in Sicca Veneria by a *curator rei publicae et deae Veneris* (LSA 1887). This and dedications to Salonina, the wife of Gallienus (254–68), are the last African examples of the association of an emperor with a female family member.³⁴ In the fourth century, the image of imperial power was turned into an almost exclusively male affair.

The late antique epigraphic evidence suggests that imperial ideology was well received and rapidly incorporated by North African city elites. There are two particularly interesting examples of this process. The first is the case of dedications of statues to Jupiter and Hercules as protectors of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, found in three different cities: Lambaesis (LSA 2326), Thamugadi (LSA 2486 and 2487), and Thubursicu Numidarum (LSA 2483 and 2484). This new system of religious legitimization was adopted and incorporated into the statuary collection of even small provincial cities. The second example shows how local communities could react to sudden changes in political power. A dedication

coexistence of old and new statues in late antique fora: Stewart (2007: 29).

³³ On dynastic groups during the early empire: Deppmeyer (2008). On the transformations of the imperial image during the Tetrarchy: Baratte (1995: 70).

³⁴ For statue bases dedicated to Salonina: *CIL* VIII. 960; *IRT* 459; *AE* 1969–70, no. 702.

to Galerius by the city of Thamugadi, in the town's forum, was erased, probably soon after the seizure of Africa by Maxentius in 310. Then, after Constantine's victory in 312, a new inscription was carved onto a different face of the base, reviving the dedication to Galerius, but now as *divus*, since in the meantime he had died (LSA 2373). With changes in political power, the memory of Galerius was first erased and then reinstated.³⁵ These examples show local communities reacting rapidly to changes in imperial power and, in the case of the bases to Jupiter and Hercules, closely following imperial ideology promoted at court.

NON-IMPERIAL DEDICATIONS

While the greatest number of dedications in Africa was to emperors, 'non-imperial' dedications still constituted a large and vigorous proportion of the whole (Figs 4.4 and 4.8). Around 45 per cent of all inscribed bases and statuary items attest the setting up of statue monuments to deities, governors, and members of the local elite, among other categories of honorand.

It is not, however, possible to chart the history of non-imperial dedications with any precision, because so much of the evidence is difficult to date and interpret. Statues of non-imperial subjects are normally impossible to name, unless they represent a deity or are accompanied by an inscribed base (Figs 4.3 and 4.4).³⁶ But, even with inscriptions, establishing a precise date is often impossible. We can, however, still form an impression of this practice, at least in its main outlines.

Inscribed dedications indicate what types of statue were set up when emperors were not being honoured (Fig. 4.8). The chart does not include bases whose subject is now unknown or

³⁵ The precise vicissitudes of a second dedication to Galerius at Thamugadi (LSA 2374), which also suffered defacement, are more difficult to reconstruct with confidence.

³⁶ e.g. LSA 2592 (with base LSA 2387) and 1130 (with base LSA 1184).

was never stated. It is important to note, furthermore, that the overwhelming majority of our evidence (almost 95 per cent) comes from three provinces only—Africa Proconsularis, Tripolitania, and Numidia—and our discussion will inevitably be focused on these areas. As the chart shows, individuals and communities involved in the statue habit followed a traditional pattern of dedication, offering the largest share (over 25 per cent) of non-imperial honours to members of the local elite—a further indication of the continuing vitality and dynamism of civic life in Africa.

Provincial governors are also well represented, with just under 25 per cent of all dedications. Governors played an important role in the life of late antique cities, and were everywhere a natural focus of attention for statue awarders.³⁷ Although we have little information about the governors (*praesides*) of Tripolitania, we know that in the cases of Proconsularis, Numidia, and Byzacena, members of the Roman aristocracy often filled the role.³⁸ It is not a coincidence, therefore, that twenty-one out of the thirty-five dedications to governors record their role as patrons of the communities responsible for the statue—a phenomenon that closely echoes practice in southern Italy, as discussed in Chapter 3 (Machado).

Statues remained an important feature of the African urban landscape, as is confirmed by the high number of statues restored or moved to a different location: twenty-eight, or about 20 per cent of our non-imperial inscriptional evidence. This practice, which is most evident in Rome, southern Italy, and North Africa, became increasingly important during the late antique period, and attests to civic pride and the continuing cultural value of a city's sculptural heritage.³⁹ This is particularly true of Proconsularis, where nineteen of the non-imperial inscriptions

recording the repair or relocation of statues were found.⁴⁰ Proconsularis is particularly interesting in this regard because here most of these acts of repair or relocation were carried out by civic office-holders and institutions, such as *flamines perpetui*, *curatores*, and the *ordo*.⁴¹ This is in stark contrast with what we see in other provinces, such as Tripolitania and Campania, where such works were usually carried out by provincial governors or imperial office-holders.⁴² The direct involvement of local agents suggests a particularly strong concern of the civic communities of Africa for their cultural heritage and identity—an impression that is reinforced by an event that, although different in nature, involved the same issues. Sometime between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, bandits (*latrones*) broke into the temple of Venus in Sicca Veneria and stole the statue of the goddess. The statue was restored by the *curator* of the city, Valerius Romanus, who was himself later honoured with a statue, by either the worshippers or the inhabitants of the city, 'to spread his name through all centuries'.⁴³

This example illustrates the importance that statues, whether of deities or individuals, held in the urban communities of fourth-century Proconsularis, and helps to explain the active involvement of local communities, office-holders, and institutions in the setting up of statues, not only to emperors but also to governors, deities, and fellow members of the local community. In total, local awarders were responsible for 110 of the

⁴⁰ Or, to be more precise, 22, if we consider that LSA 2471 records the movement of 4 statues.

⁴¹ e.g. LSA 2421 and 2478 (*flamen perpetuus*); LSA 2351, 2352, and 2356 (*curator*); LSA 2449 (*ordo* and *curator*); and LSA 2471 (*res publica* and *curator*). Local agents were responsible for 12 out of the 19 dedications.

⁴² In Tripolitania, governors were responsible for all four such works; while in Campania, governors and imperial officials carried out over 80% of these operations. But note that in Mauretania Sitifensis the only inscription of this type records the work of a *curator* with the assistance of his son (LSA 2318).

⁴³ LSA 2454. See also Lepelley (1981: 157–8), who suggests identifying the *latrones* with troops of Maxentius, marauding during the war against Domitius Alexander in 310.

³⁷ On the function of governors in general, see Roueché (1998).

³⁸ For Tripolitania, see Tantillo (2010a: 31); on Numidia and Byzacena, Chastagnol (1987: 153, 168–70).

³⁹ See Lepelley (1994: 9); see also the remarks in Ch. 3 (Machado), on Italy.

c. 140 bases of Proconsularis,⁴⁴ and this picture of intense local involvement is more or less the same in all the provinces east of the Mauretania, albeit with different proportions between the various categories of awarders. For as long as the statue habit continued, it remained closely linked to the rhythms of civic life, expressing local priorities and interests at the same time as responding to the sometimes harsh and often fast-moving realities of imperial power.

CONCLUSION

For most of the fourth century, statues continued to be set up in many of the cities of North Africa. Emperors, governors, local notables, and deities were commemorated in urban landscapes by a variety of awarders of local or imperial standing. Statues still played an important role in the cultural and political worlds of different African communities, embellishing streets and monumental complexes. Statues disseminated and legitimized imperial rule, while at the same time affirming the political values and social hierarchies of the cities in which they were displayed. Roman Africa was one of the most 'statue-active' regions of the Mediterranean, and the impressive continuities revealed by the statue evidence confirm the vitality of urban life in this part of the late antique world.

The evidence, however, is unevenly distributed. Geographically, the provinces of Mauretania Tingitania, Caesariensis, and Sitifensis provide little evidence, and suggest that there were actually two zones within the vast region we have considered here. If we can speak of a statue habit, this was limited to the region from Numidia eastwards. Even within this narrower area, however, there were considerable differences in the rhythm and

geographical distribution of dedications. Each province seems to have been marked by a different statue habit, with its own rhythm of decline and its own preferences and priorities. Our evidence offers an important argument for the existence of considerable diversity within late antique North Africa. It is essential to take into account the cultural and social differences of the various North African provinces, as well as the role played by local identities.⁴⁵

There seems to be a strong link between the dynamism of the statue habit, as indicated by the number of statues set up, and the vitality of civic life in late Roman Africa. North African civic elites remained intensely involved in the setting up of statues, exploring it as a form of expressing their social and cultural values, as well as their political loyalties and devotion.

The region also shows that we should not attribute the decline of the statue habit to changes in urban prosperity. The end of the practice of dedicating statues in Africa took place in a context that cannot be described as one of overall 'urban decline'. The central provinces of Roman Africa (the source of most of our monuments) remained free from external threats, and from most internal ones, into the fifth century, and recent scholarship has shown the cities remained prosperous until at least the Vandal invasion of 429–39. The dedication of statues, however, had already become a rare occurrence by the late 370s, and had all but disappeared by AD 400. Furthermore, the evidence of dedications to emperors suggests that the decline followed shortly after an impressive surge in civic (and statuary) activity in Valentinianic times. Why this happened is puzzling, particularly when we consider that statues continued to be set up well into the fifth century in Rome and in Campania. It is a question that merits further investigation.

⁴⁴ This number refers to statue bases only, as the statues themselves do not identify the awarders, and it includes all dedications (imperial and non-imperial).

⁴⁵ See Modéran (2007).

CHAPTER 5

Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia

Christian Witschel

This chapter deals with the inscribed late antique statue bases from Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia as evidence for honorific monuments of this period and thus also for changes in the 'statuary habit'. These regions constituted a large share of the *praefectura Galliarum* and were important parts of the western empire, but they have yielded only a small number of late antique bases and of surviving portrait sculpture (Fig. 5.1). After taking a closer look at the evidence, the chapter will venture some explanations for this (at first sight surprising) phenomenon.

LOOKING AT THE EVIDENCE

Summary

First, I want to present a short summary of the evidence. I have tried to collect all inscribed statue bases from the period ranging from AD 284 to the very last dedications in the fifth century. As the later third century was an important transitional period, I have also added bases dating to between AD 270 and 284. I have included only inscriptions that can (a) be dated with reasonable confidence to late antiquity and (b) were probably part of a statuary monument. It has to be admitted, however, that the sample contains some doubtful cases. I have also tried to gather the surviving late antique portrait sculpture from the regions concerned.

From Hispania, the larger part of the *diocesis Hispaniarum*, forty-two late antique statue bases are known, to which another twenty-eight dated to between AD 270 and 284 may be added. In contrast, the region of southern Gaul, which was organized as the *diocesis Viennensis* or *Quinque/Septem Provinciae* during late antiquity, has yielded only six statue bases (LSA 2654–7, 2687, and 2692) from the period between 284 and the mid-fourth century (no later base is securely attested from southern Gaul), and in addition three bases for the emperors Aurelian and Numerian.¹ Northern Gaul, that is, the *diocesis Galliarum*, which was made up of ten late antique provinces, has even less material: only three bases (LSA 2610, 2611, and 2642) can securely be attributed to late antiquity, with another four dated to the period between AD 280 and 284 (LSA 104, 2612, 2613, and 2641). From Raetia II, on the other hand, which was never a province with a rich epigraphic record, we know of up to five late antique bases (LSA 2643–47—though

¹ Aurelian: *CIL* XII 2673 = 5571a = *CIL* XVII 2, 184a = *ILN* VI 1 (probably not a milestone, as claimed in the earlier literature, but part of a statue base) from Alba (Viennensis); *CIL* XII 58 = Rosso (2006: 525, no. 281) from Briançonnet (Alpes maritimae). Numerian: LSA 485 from Sisteron (Narbonensis II)—if this stone was indeed part of a statuary monument.

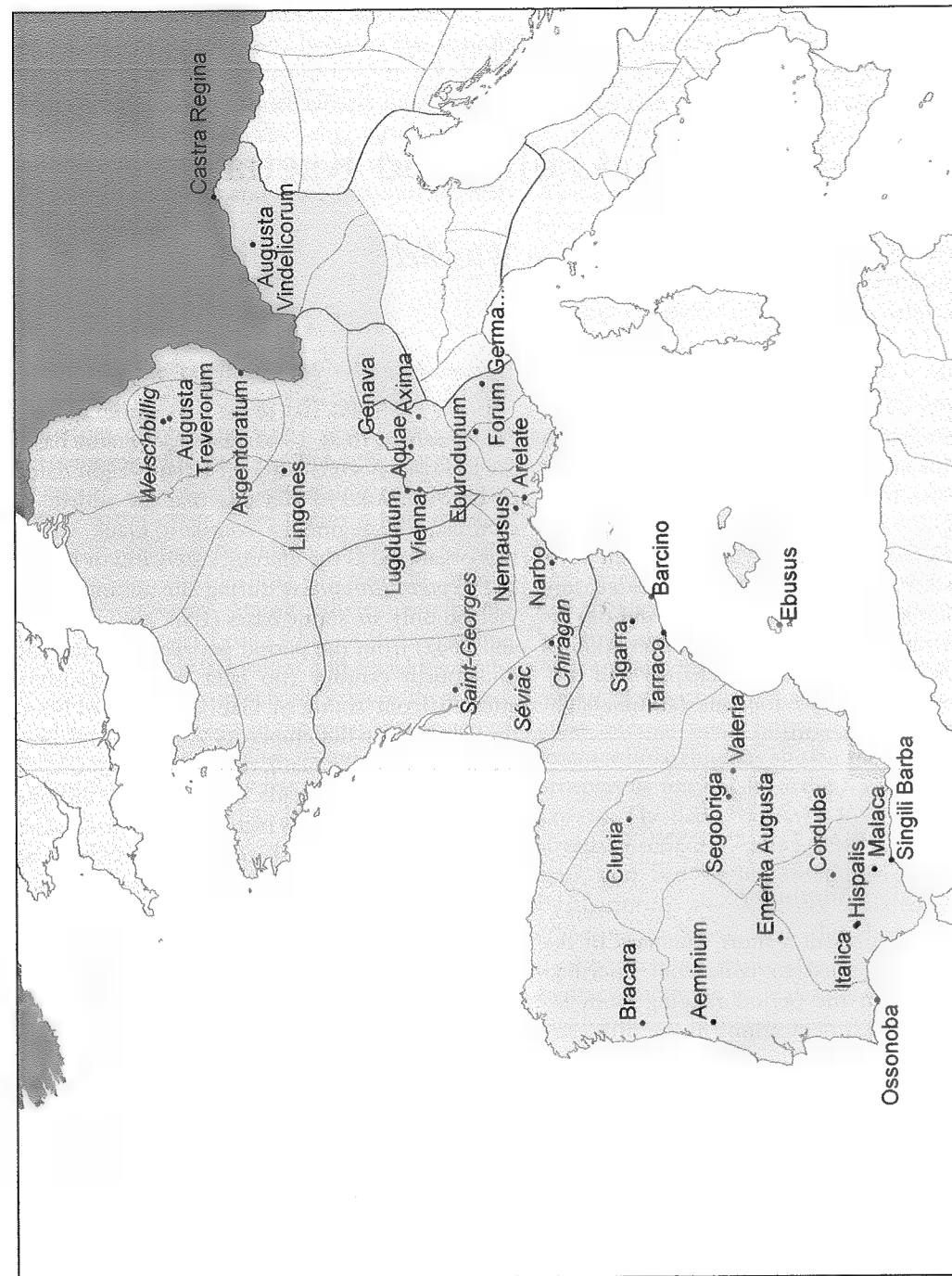


Fig. 5.1 Western Europe. Cities and sites with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

Region	270-84	284-306	306-37	337-63	363-95	5th c.
Hispania	28	14	17	6	4	1
S. Gaul	3	3	3	0	0	0
N. Gaul	4	1	1	0	0	1
Raetia	1	4	0	0	0	1
Total	36	22	21	6	4	3

TABLE 5.1 Chronological distribution of late antique statue bases from Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia

Region	Emperor	Imperial aristocracy	Civic dignitary	God (pagan)
Hispania	36 [25]	6 [3]	0 [0]	0 [0]
S. Gaul	6 [3]	0 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
N. Gaul	3 [4]	0 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Raetia	1 [1]	1 [0]	0 [0]	2 [0]
Total	46 [33]	7 [3]	0 [0]	2 [0]

Note: Square brackets indicate the period AD 270-284.

TABLE 5.2 Persons and gods honoured with late antique statues in Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia

this includes three rather doubtful cases)² and another one for the emperor Probus.³

Some general trends

The most striking observation which occurs to us when looking at the evidence from our region is the low number of (surviving) late antique statue bases. Overall, we know of only fifty-six bases from the 200 years between AD 284 and the later fifth century, to which can be added another thirty-six from the much shorter period between AD 270 and 284. This points to a clear chronological trend within the material (Table 5.1): the large majority of bases is from the late third or early fourth centuries, with only few monuments of this kind produced after AD 363—four in the later fourth century⁴ and three in the course of

the fifth century (although none of these latter cases is beyond doubt).⁵

A second general trend to be noted is the restricted spectrum of those who were honoured in these inscriptions (Table 5.2): most of them were erected for emperors (Fig. 5.2), whereas only a small number were dedicated to men from the imperial administration and aristocracy, very few to (pagan) gods, and none to members of the municipal elite, which had often received honorific statues in the high imperial period.

Thirdly, it can be shown (see Table 5.3) that nearly all late antique bases (and thus their attached statues) were dedicated by cities or

² In two cases it is not certain whether we are really dealing with a statue base and not with another type of epigraphic monument (such as an altar): LSA 2647 from Regensburg (see below, n. 6) and LSA 2646 from Zwiefalten (perhaps brought there from Augsburg). With regard to LSA 2645 from Augsburg, there are some doubts concerning the function (and also the date) of this inscription: see below, n. 5.

³ Wagner (1956/57: 224, no. 30) from Augsburg.

⁴ Statue bases dated to the later 4th c.: LSA 1989 (Barcino—for a member of the imperial aristocracy, around or soon after

AD 387) (Fig. 5.3); LSA 2000 (Corduba—for a governor, 3rd quarter of the 4th c.); LSA 2003 (Italica—for the emperors Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian, AD 367-75—if this was indeed part of a statue base); and LSA 2013 (Augusta Emerita—for Gratian, AD 370-82/3).

⁵ Statue bases dated to the 5th c.: LSA 1986 (Tarraco—for the emperors Leo and Anthemius, AD 467-72, but possibly not a statuary monument); LSA 2611 (Trier—for an unknown emperor, early 5th c.); LSA 2645 (Augsburg—for an unknown military leader, perhaps a *magister militum*, c. AD 430, but this dating and interpretation as a statue base depend on the arguments of Scharf 1994b).

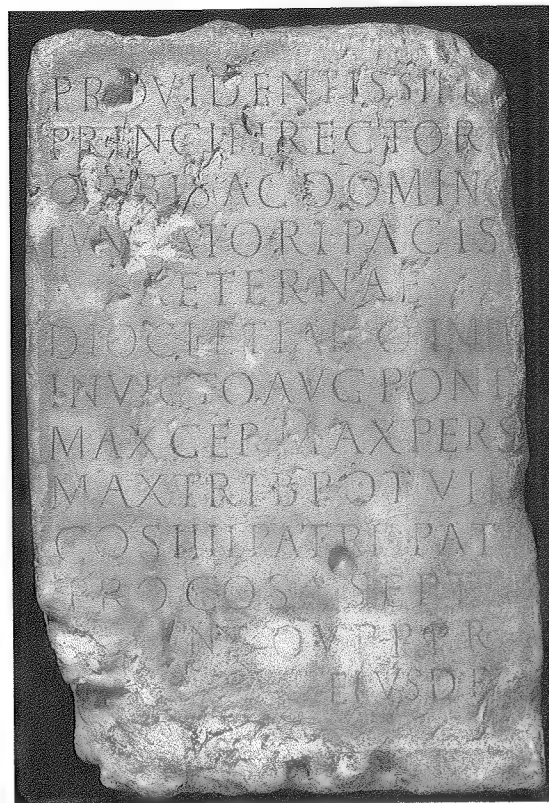


Fig. 5.2 Base for statue of Diocletian. Augusta Vindelicorum. 290, LSA 2643. Augsburg, Römisches Museum, inv. 54. H: 116 cm.

members of the imperial administration, with other individuals nearly absent as dedicators—we know of only one or two civic office-holders from Hispania and two high-ranking officers from northern Gaul and Raetia.⁶

⁶ Civic office-holders: LSA 1987 (Tarraco—a governor of Hispania Tarraconensis honoured with a statue by a *cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Tarraconensis*, early 4th c.) and perhaps 2008 (Augusta Emerita—statue of an unknown emperor dedicated by a man named [—Ca]lpurnianus for whom we lack a clear identification, late 3rd or early 4th c.). Military officers: LSA 2610 (Trier—a base for Constantius I Caesar put up by a *dux*, AD 293–305); LSA 2647 (Regensburg—a fragmentary statue base, or possibly an altar, dedicated by a governor together with a *praefectus legionis*, late 3rd c.).

⁷ Tarragona: the so-called 'provincial forum' and the adjacent *area sacra* in the upper part of the town seem to have remained in use until the 5th c.—see Taller Escola d'Arqueologia (1989: esp. 446–8). Nearly all late antique statue bases from Tarraco, for which we know the find-spot at least approximately, seem to have come from this part of the town: see *CIL* II²/14, 2, pp. XCVII–XCVIII. Mérida: recent finds (including some statue bases dated to the mid- and late 3rd c., such as LSA 2008) made in the vicinity of the so-called *forum coloniae* have demonstrated that this important public place was still functioning well into the 4th c.—see Saquete and Márquez (1997: esp. 50–51); also Hidalgo and Méndez (2005: 553–4). The abandonment of the public spaces of Emerita seems to have started only in the course of the 5th c. (Arce 2006: 261–2).

⁸ For the inscriptions from Carthago Nova: Abascal Palazón and Ramallo Asensio (1997: esp. 26–39, 51–2). The latest honorific statue known was for the empress Iulia Mamaea, AD 222–35: *CIL* II 3413 = Abascal Palazón and Ramallo Asensio (1997: 180–82, no. 44).

⁹ By Brassous (2011: 338–40, 344–5), although his arguments have not completely convinced me.

THE THREE REGIONS

Hispania

The forty-two statue bases of the period after AD 284 come from only fourteen different towns. That is not a high number when compared to the c.400 autonomous cities which must have existed in this region around AD 300. We should note the concentration of evidence in some of the major urban centres of late antique Hispania, especially the provincial capitals such as Tarraco (Tarragona), Corduba (Córdoba), Augusta Emerita (Mérida), and also Bracara (Braga) in Callaecia. In these large towns, at least some of the many public spaces which had been created in the early imperial period were still functioning in the fourth century, as can be seen in Tarragona and in Mérida.⁷ The only exception is Carthago Nova, where the erection of honorific monuments (and the epigraphic habit in general) apparently came to an end much earlier.⁸ As Carthago Nova underwent a drastic change in its outward appearance from the late second century onwards, it has recently even been questioned whether it was a provincial capital at all in late antiquity.⁹ The many smaller towns, which were so characteristic of the urban landscape of Roman Spain and were mostly still

Region	Cities	Civic office-holders	Governors	Provinces	Officers
Hispania	8 [17]	2 [0]	17 [5]	1 [1]	0 [0]
S. Gaul	3 [2]	0 [0]	2 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
N. Gaul	0 [3]	0 [0]	1 [0]	0 [0]	1 [0]
Raetia	0 [0]	0 [0]	4 [1]	0 [0]	1 [0]
Total	11 [22]	2 [0]	24 [6]	1 [1]	2 [0]

Note: Square brackets indicate the period AD 270–284.

TABLE 5.3 The dedicators of late antique statues (if known) from Hispania, Gallia, and Raetia

functioning as political units during the late Roman period, have rarely produced statue bases from this time; and only one small town shows up with more than one late antique base: Singili Barba in the province of Baetica (LSA 2004–6) (Fig. 5.4). But this might be at least in part explained by the fact that the forum of the town has been thoroughly excavated in recent times, with a number of epigraphic monuments found more or less in situ.¹⁰

Most of the evidence concerns statuary monuments for emperors erected by members of the imperial administration, that is, provincial governors and *vicarii*. This was a continuation (and, in a certain sense, the final phase) of some longer-term trends that had affected the epigraphic habit of the Hispanic regions from the later second century onwards. These were characterized by: (a) the early and complete disappearance of honorific monuments for members of the local and provincial aristocracies, with only a few remaining for members of the imperial aristocracy (Fig. 5.3);¹¹ (b) a contrasting high number of statues



Fig. 5.3 Base for statue of Nummius Aemilianus Dexter. From Barcino. 379–87, LSA 1989. Barcelona, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, inv. 7563. H: 96 cm.

¹⁰ See *CIL* II²/5, pp. 213–14 with fig.

¹¹ The following statue bases for members of the imperial administration and aristocracy are known from late antique Hispania: LSA 1987 (Tarraco—a governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, early 4th c.); LSA 2014 (Augusta Emerita—if this fragmentary inscription is correctly restored, it recorded honours for a *vicarius* of the Hispanic provinces named Septimius Acindynus, who himself had dedicated a statue to the Caesar Crispus in Tarraco (LSA 1983), c. AD 324–6; compare Saquete Chamizo 2000); LSA 2000 (Corduba—a governor of the province of Baetica received a *statua equestris*, 3rd quarter of the 4th c.; compare Stylow 2000); LSA 2007 (Malaca—the local *ordo* erected a *statuam marmoream [eque]strem* for another *consularis provinciae Baeticae*, c. AD 357); LSA 1989 (Barcino—a *vir clarissimus* and *proconsul Asiae* honoured by the province of Asia with a statue, shortly after AD 387).

dedicated to emperors in the third century throughout Hispania, even in many of the small towns that were abundant in this region. Most of these statues were erected not by individuals but by the whole civic community. In the latter part of the third century some new trends emerge: (c) the number of statues for emperors dedicated in

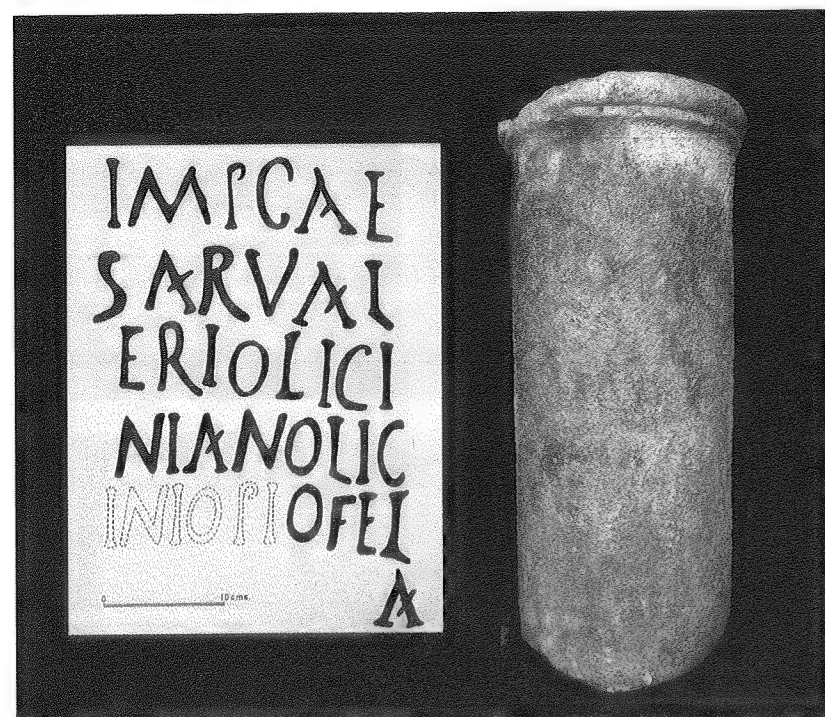


Fig. 5.4 Columnar base with painted dedication to Licinius. From Singili Barba. 308–24, LSA 2006. Antequerra, Municipal Museum. H: 73 cm.

the smaller towns declined considerably, though in the large centres this habit still continued for a time; but (d) when we look at who was dedicating these imperial statues, we can see that in the later third century members of the imperial administration began to dominate, replacing dedications by the cities themselves. This process was more or less completed by the early fourth century. The change can be clearly seen by contrasting the material I have collected for the period ranging from AD 284 to the fifth century with that from the immediately preceding period (AD 270–84) (see Tables 5.4A and 5.4B).

Concerning the design of these statue monuments, it has to be noted that often (especially in Tarraco) the bases (and probably also the statues they carried) were not freshly carved but re-used older stones. In some cases, this happened three or four times. In some places, we encounter exceptional monuments, as in Singili Barba, where the

three honorific monuments from the forum of the town that were erected for emperors of the early fourth century take the form of tall columns (Fig. 5.4). In this case, one wonders whether they really carried statues (which is certainly not to be excluded, as round statue bases are well known from Spain and other regions of the empire) or whether they were merely honorific monuments without any sculpture.¹² In the latter case, they

¹² Round bases from Hispania: *CIL* II²/14, 1, 316–18 (Saguntum) and *CIL* II²/5, 620/21 (Illiberris). Another town with a number of late antique columnar monuments that mostly seem to have functioned as statue bases is Casaerea Maritima in Palestine: LSA 11, 12, 1090, 1100, and 1105–7 (I would like to thank Werner Eck for his detailed advice). On the other hand, we also encounter monuments that look like milestones in nearly every respect (although lacking an indication of *milia passuum*) but which stood in the centre of a city, as in the case of Cuicul (Numidia), where a large number of such stones of the 3rd and 4th c. has been found on the so-called 'Severan forum' (cf. Salama 1951)—in this case, their

Total no.	42
Governors	17
Cities	8
Others	3
Unknown	14

TABLE 5.4A Dedicators of imperial statue bases in Hispania, AD 284–5th c.

Total no.	28
Governors	5
Cities	17
Others	1
Unknown	5

TABLE 5.4B Dedicators of imperial statue bases in Hispania, AD 270–284

would have been similar to milestones, which by this period primarily had an honorific function and were still erected in large numbers along the roads of fourth-century Hispania.

Another surprising feature of late Roman Spain is the small quantity of surviving portrait statuary—and of what survives, little or none can be securely dated to after c. AD 300.¹³ Compared to the evidence of the bases, which shows that in the late third and early fourth centuries statue monuments were still dedicated to the emperors, at least in some of the larger towns of Hispania, it is surprising that we know of no sure imperial portrait from the period.¹⁴ Although most of these monuments would have re-used earlier ones, one would still expect to find some recarved portraits. The evidence for this phenomenon is, however, nearly nonexistent in the region.

honorific character is obvious, but it is also certain that these stones never carried statues. The whole problem evidently needs a more thorough treatment than can be presented here.

¹³ Two of the latest recognizable portraits from Roman Spain come from Italica (Baetica): a reused togate statue whose head was recarved in the late 3rd c. (LSA 1931) and a male portrait also dated to the late 3rd c. (Léon 2001: 142–3, no. 37).

¹⁴ This also pertains to the rich *villae* of late Roman Spain, where—in contrast to some of their counterparts in southern Gaul—no late antique portraits have been found (Stirling 2007: 312–14).

Gaul

The most striking feature in Gaul is the complete absence of late antique statue bases even in large and politically important centres such as Arles,¹⁵ Bordeaux, Reims, or Cologne. At this point, the question arises whether the evidence we have is really representative of the situation in late antiquity. Some doubts are certainly possible, as two examples may show. The chance find of five statue bases (out of seven from the whole of northern Gaul!), dated to the later third and early fourth centuries, from the forum of the small town of Axima (LSA 104, 2612, 2613, 2641, and 2642) may demonstrate the extent to which we are dependent on the contingencies of archaeological research (or even on luck). In addition, Trier serves as a warning that there might have been more material in antiquity, but which has simply been lost. The only statue base for a tetrarch we have from Trier (LSA 2610) explicitly states that it was dedicated *numini maiestatique eorum* ('to their divine spirit and majesty')—the use of the plural must mean that more than one statue was put up at this time. And, from the surviving late antique portrait sculpture from Trier, it is clear that at least three or four large statues of emperors and other high-ranking persons must have existed in the town. This is not a surprise in a city that served as an imperial residence for extended periods of time during the fourth century (Fig. 5.5).¹⁶ The survival of only two statue bases from late antiquity in Trier, therefore, is certainly unrepresentative of what once existed.

A third observation may be added at this point: through our concentration on inscribed

¹⁵ For Arles in late antiquity, see Heijmans (2004). There is no certain case of a late antique statuary monument from this important town. The forum of Arles was still mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris in the mid-5th c. in its traditional form, including (older) statues (*Epist.* 1.11.7). But this literary description seems to have been partially anachronistic, as archaeological research has demonstrated that some parts of the forum were covered by a form of squatter occupation during the 5th c.: see Sintès (1994).

¹⁶ Surviving late antique portrait sculpture from Trier: LSA 584, 1076, 2402, and 2407.

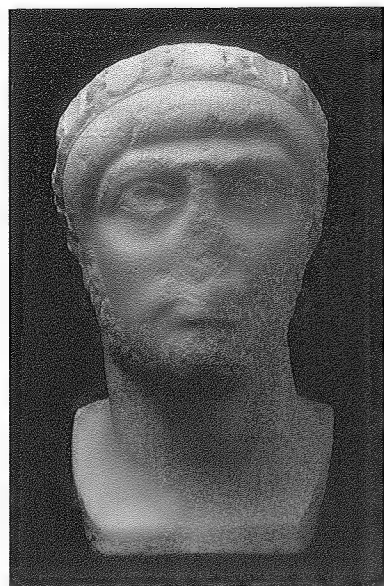


Fig. 5.5 Head of diademed emperor with sideburns. From Augusta Treverorum (Trier). Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 584. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 1898.306. H: 38.5 cm.

statue bases, we tend to focus too much on the public sphere, thereby excluding other contexts for the presentation of (portrait) sculpture—such as the large *villae* of late antique Gaul. But even if we take these contexts into account, the picture does not change greatly—leaving aside the exceptional case of the villa of Chiragan with its remarkable body of late antique portrait sculpture.¹⁷ It seems that only a few estate owners in

¹⁷ For the villa of Chiragan in the province of Narbonensis II, see Bergmann (1999); Balmelle (2001: 367–70, no. 28). This collection of sculpture included a number of pieces that were freshly carved in late antiquity, especially a series of mythological images (Bergmann 1999: 26–43). At the same time, a group of four portraits was produced (LSA 987, 988, 1070, and 1071). These have been identified as the emperor Maximian and his family and thus dated to the tetrarchic period (by Balty 2008), but it is more likely that we are dealing with private portraits of the later 4th c. (as argued by Bergmann 1999: 40–41). In addition to this group, we have another female private portrait dated to around 400 that probably comes from the villa of Chiragan (LSA 986). All the other portraits found at Chiragan were from earlier periods: a series of imperial portraits ending in the 240s; and a larger group of private portraits, the last ones of which were made in the

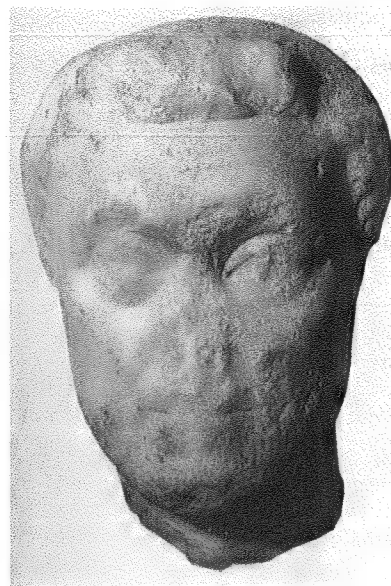


Fig. 5.6 Head of man with light beard. From Séviac. Late fourth century to early fifth century, LSA 1666. Musées Abbaye de Flaran. Valence-sur-Baise.

late antique Gaul ordered freshly carved portraits for their *villae* (Fig. 5.6), while often favouring small-scale mythological sculptures and keeping older portraits of the imperial period which they had inherited.¹⁸ In general, the number of late antique portraits from Gaul is nearly as low as that from Spain.¹⁹ On the whole, I would

Gallienic period; compare Rosso (2006: 173–9); Bergmann (2007b).

¹⁸ Compare Balmelle (2001: 229–37); Stirling (2005: 29–90). The only other villa in southwestern Gaul that has yielded a late antique portrait is Séviac (a male head, dated to the late 4th or early 5th c., LSA 1666) (Fig. 5.6) (Stirling 2005: 69–70). All the other portraits in the richly decorated villas of late antique Gaul were heirlooms from earlier periods which had been inherited or bought by the villa owners of the 4th and 5th c.

¹⁹ In northern Gaul, we know of only three doubtful pieces in addition to those from Trier: LSA 601 is supposedly from Langres, but the exact place of discovery remains uncertain. A colossal head from Mainz has been interpreted as a portrait of a late antique emperor, perhaps Julian (see Frenz 1982/3), but there are no convincing arguments for this identification. Finally, Delbrueck (1933: 173–4) has claimed that a female portrait from Strasbourg (LSA 576) shows a member of the Constantinian dynasty from the mid-4th c., but it might be much earlier. In southern Gaul, we find an imperial portrait of the mid-4th c. from the forum of Vienne (LSA 577), a

therefore argue that the limited evidence of statue bases from late antique Gaul cannot be totally misleading, which in turn should indicate that portrait sculpture and honorific monuments played only a minor role in the region during this period.

Raetia

In the province of Raetia Secunda (there are no late antique statue bases from Raetia Prima), we again notice a marked concentration of statue dedications in the provincial capital, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), and its vicinity. Four of these statues (for emperors and gods) were erected by governors of the province during the late third and early fourth centuries (LSA 2643 (Fig. 5.2), 2644, 2646, and 2647). In addition to these, we may have one case of a very late (i.e. early fifth-century) honorific monument for a member of the imperial aristocracy and military leader (perhaps even Aetius himself) from Augsburg (LSA 2645); but the interpretation of this fragmentary inscription remains uncertain.²⁰

POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS

When we discuss the question of how to explain this unexpected situation—especially the virtual absence of late antique honorific monuments and statues from the whole of Gaul—we need to keep in mind that some sharp differences and divergent structural preconditions already existed during the high imperial period in the regions under consideration. There was a marked gulf between what I would call a ‘Mediterranean epigraphic/statuary habit’ (found in Hispania and

Gallia Narbonensis) and a ‘northern epigraphic/statuary habit’ (in the Tres Galliae, the Germania, and Raetia). In the latter regions, already during the first and second centuries, significantly fewer honorific statues for members of the local aristocracy, governors, and even emperors were put up than in the south. Two recently published corpora of inscriptions from important towns illustrate this point: in both Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) and Burdigala (Bordeaux), a substantial number of Roman inscriptions have been found, but nearly all of these are either votive or funerary, while the number of statue bases from the high imperial period is low.²¹ Even in places where large fora were built, for example in Bagacum (Bavay), they seem to have remained little populated with statue monuments. Only a small number of inscribed bases that could have stood on such open squares has been found in these regions.²²

This situation can be contrasted with a spectacular new excavation in the interior of Hispania Citerior. The modestly sized town of Segobriga gained the status of a *municipium* before 15 BC, and during the same period a forum was built in the centre of the town.²³ In the course of the next three to four generations, this square was filled with a huge number of statuary monuments for emperors and *patroni* from the upper orders of Roman society and also for members of the local elite. On the other hand, we should note that this rush for erecting statues in Segobriga did not last long: entirely in line with developments in the rest of Hispania, the peculiar statuary habit of

²¹ See the material presented in *IKöln*² and *ILA Bord.*, mostly dated to the early and high imperial periods.

²² In the centre of Bagacum, a spacious forum was built in the later 1st c. AD, which was completely restored in the 2nd half of the 2nd c.: CAG 59/2, 97–138. But it must have remained more or less empty of the sort of honorific monuments and statues which were so common in the towns of the Mediterranean, as only a few statue bases have been found in Bavay. Even accounting for the inevitable losses through stone robbery and other causes, the base and statue record is meagre.

²³ On the forum of Segobriga, its architecture, and its decoration with statuary and epigraphic monuments, see Abascal et al. (2004); Noguera et al. (2008); Abascal et al. (2011).

re-used colossal statue combined with a late antique head, possibly of a tetrarch, from the baths in Aix-les-Bains (LSA 2400, here Fig. 1.12); and a female private portrait of the late Constantinian period from Nîmes (LSA 969), as well as another female portrait of the early 4th c. from the same town (LSA 1299). The decorative herms from Welschbillig belong in a different category: LSA 1075 and 2637–40.

²⁰ See above, n. 5.

the early imperial period ended in the course of the second century. The excavations of the forum have yielded only one statue base (for an emperor) dated to the third century and one togate statue attributed to the mid-third century—though the square itself seems to have remained in use well into the fourth century.²⁴ Here we see that regions like Spain and south-eastern Gaul, which I have defined as belonging to the 'Mediterranean model', were also to a high degree affected by long-term changes in the epigraphic and statuary habit, particularly during the third century.

Especially remarkable is the changing ratio of honours for emperors in the form of statues and milestones, with the latter taking the lead in some regions already by the mid-third century (see the example of Aquitania in Table 5.5), whereas elsewhere the same phenomenon can be detected a little later.

If we turn now to the overall epigraphic habit in late antique Aquitania (the provinces of Aquitania Prima and Secunda as well as Novempopulana), we are confronted with some interesting features: from this vast area, for the whole period from the end of the third until the beginning of the seventh century, we know of only a few more than a hundred inscriptions.²⁵ None of these are from statue bases, and only three inscriptions might be classified as 'civic' (all are *tabulae patronatus* found in a villa).²⁶ The number of late antique milestones is also low (16); and the great majority of surviving inscriptions comes from Christian graves (c.85).

Three larger trends can be observed in late antique Aquitania, which may, at least in part, account for the peculiar epigraphic and statuary habit of the region (or, rather, its lack). First, it is

²⁴ Statue base of the (early?) 3rd c.: AE 2003, 980 = Abascal et al. (2011: 33 no. 11). Togate statue of the mid-3rd c.: LSA 2133; cf. Noguera et al. (2008: 294–8). The forum remained in use—in one way or another—until the later 4th or even the 5th c. (Noguera et al. 2008: 285, 302).

²⁵ These numbers result from the research of my doctoral student Lennart Hildebrand: see Hildebrand (forthcoming).

²⁶ CIL XIII 921a–c = ILS 6117 = ILA Nitiob. 14–16 from the villa of Montségur-Touron in the territory of the *civitas Agennensium*.

Emperor	No. of statue bases	No. of milestones
Maximinus Thrax (235–238)	0	4
Gordian I–III (238–244)	2	4
Philip the Arab (244–249)	0	4
Traianus Decius (249–251)	1	2
Trebonianus Gallus (251–253)	0	2
Valerian and Gallienus (253–260)	0	3
Postumus (260–269)	0	2
Victorinus (269–271)	0	1
Tetricus (271–274)	0	3
Aurelianus (270/74–275)	0	1
Tacitus (275/276)	0	4
Florianus (276)	0	1
Probus (276–282)	0	0
Carus and Carinus (282–285)	0	1
First Tetrarchy (284/93–305)	0	5
Second Tetrarchy (305/306)	0	7
Constantine I (306–337)	0	1
Constantine II (337–340)	0	1
Total	3	46

TABLE 5.5 Inscriptions for emperors (and their family members) from Aquitania in the period AD 235–418²⁷

obvious that the importance, as a medium of social communication and representation, of inscriptions and inscribed monuments (including statue bases) diminished considerably in late antiquity. Even in funerary contexts, where the

²⁷ There are no inscriptions for Constans, Magnentius, Constantius II, and Julian from Aquitania, nor for any of the members of the Valentinianic and Theodosian dynasties.

elites still invested in richly decorated sarcophagi, they were mostly no longer interested in carving inscriptions on them.²⁸ Secondly, new contexts for representation had emerged, primarily in the rich villa culture of late antiquity which is particularly well documented in Aquitania.²⁹ This phenomenon should not be interpreted as proof of the flight of the late antique elite from the cities to the countryside, but as evidence of a prosperous society deeply embedded in traditional culture and now using alternative ways of communicating social values. It is clear that the region's cities remained important as administrative, cultural, and religious centres. Thirdly, however, from the early or mid-third century onwards, most cities of Aquitania underwent drastic change in their outward appearance—a process which often resulted in the erection of mighty town walls, enclosing only a much reduced urban area. In many towns this meant that the public spaces inherited from earlier times, such as the fora, were now situated in the extramural areas and were largely neglected—which must often have been the result of conscious

²⁸ This can clearly be seen in the case of the so-called 'Aquitania sarcophagi' of the 5th and 6th c. that were often richly decorated but only rarely contained an inscription (Briesenick 1962; Balmelle 2001: 66–8). We also know of large late antique graveyards in Aquitania that consisted of hundreds of graves but have yielded few funerary inscriptions of this period.

²⁹ For a comprehensive study of this phenomenon, see Balmelle (2001).

decisions made by the municipal institutions. The public sphere thus became less and less important in the developing landscapes of the late antique cities of Gaul; and there was no longer the space, or desire, for statuary monuments in this context—if it had ever existed at all.

CONCLUSION

I have chosen to discuss in some detail the example of late antique Aquitania for two main reasons: first, because changes in the epigraphic habit were particularly striking in this region; secondly, and more importantly, because by looking at late antique Aquitania, which was in every respect a prosperous and calm region during the fourth and even the fifth centuries, we can avoid notions of economic and/or cultural 'decline' as the main stimulus for the changes we have observed. In my opinion, we must search for other motivations to explain these processes, as I have tried to show. People in late antique Gaul and Spain seem to have done well without (honorific) statuary, but this does not mean that there was a complete breakdown of traditional social values or ways of communicating social hierarchies—quite the contrary seems true, as the inhabitants of these regions were creative in finding new ways of expressing these phenomena.

CHAPTER 6

Danube provinces and north Balkans

Ulrich Gehn and Bryan Ward-Perkins

This chapter considers the inscribed bases and surviving statuary from the Danube provinces and north Balkans, as far south as the provinces of Epirus Nova and Epirus Vetus (Fig. 6.1). It includes Noricum to the west, which belonged to the late antique prefecture of Illyricum, but excludes Raetia, which belonged to the prefecture of Italy (and is discussed in Chapter 5, Witschel).

The empire-wide LSA dataset reveals the Balkans to be a region with only a minor statue habit. In one respect this can be easily explained: statue production in late antiquity was concentrated in the densely urbanized 'civic' areas of the empire, notably Rome and southern Italy, North Africa, and the Aegean region. The Balkans, by contrast, was heavily militarized and had also suffered considerable damage during the barbarian raids of the third century. The region's low number of statues, however, is less predictable if we consider its exceptional status as the birthplace of most of the emperors from the late third to late fourth centuries, as well as its considerable number of new statues in the earlier third century.¹ In the Balkans, the major decline in statuary numbers occurred just before our period, in the later third century.

Exceptionally, the evidence we have collected from this region consists predominantly of

statuary, with forty-five pieces, against only thirty-five attested statue inscriptions. The chronological distribution of these inscriptions reveals steady numbers from the tetrarchic period to the time of Constantine and into the period of his sons (Fig. 6.2). A sharp decline occurs only after the Constantinian dynasty. The picture is different from that of other 'non-civic' regions, such as Egypt and the Near East, where imperial dedications peak in the tetrarchic period and are almost completely absent in the middle of the fourth century. The north Balkans also saw a small, but noticeable, rise in the number of statues in the fifth century.

As we might expect, the region was markedly 'imperial' in its statuary: twenty-five of our thirty-five inscriptions (over 70 per cent) were for emperors. Five of the remaining ten were an exceptional group of dedications, probably to divinities (LSA 2594, 2596-8, and 2652). Among statues of mortals, the imperial presence in the Balkans was overwhelming. Imperial office-holders normally constitute a substantial group of honorands, but Balkan inscriptions to them survive in low numbers: only four can confidently be dated to after 284, and of these, three are by no means typical dedications. The first is an inscription recording the setting up of the statue of a former governor of Lugdunensis Tertia in his Balkan homeland, erected in gratitude by the men of the province, who had adopted him as their patron (LSA 378). This

¹ See Ch. 18 (Spranger).

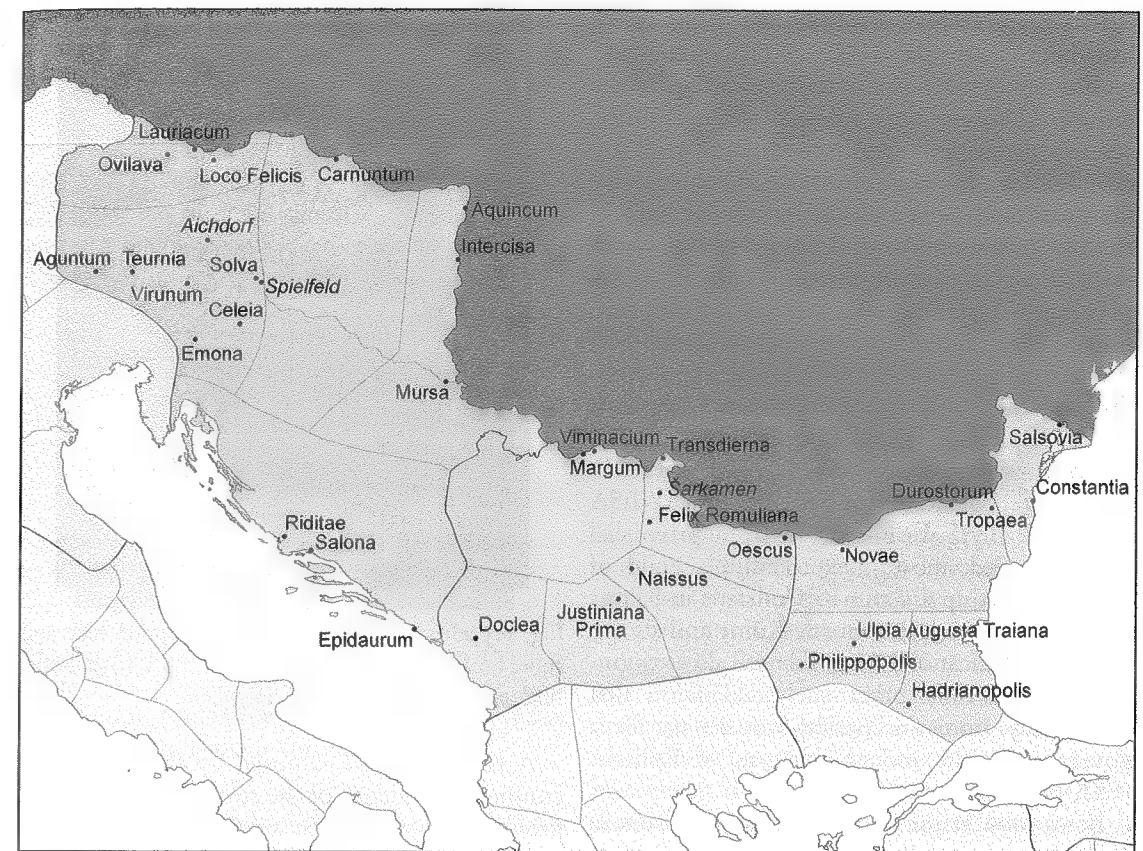


Fig. 6.1 Danube Provinces and North Balkans. Cities and sites with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

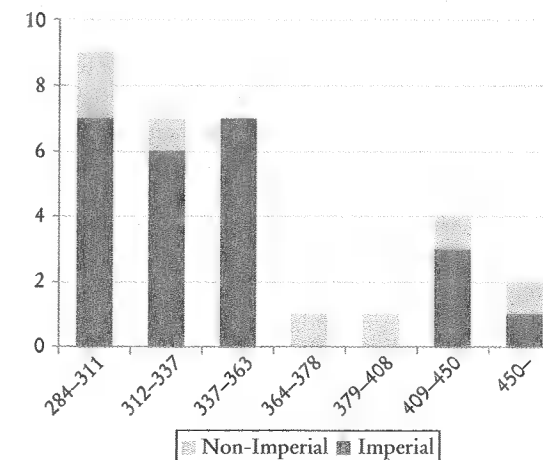


Fig. 6.2 Danube Provinces and North Balkans. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty. Total = 31.

interesting inscription, which should date to around 400, belongs more to statuary habits of Gaul than to those of the Balkans. Two further dedications to office-holders are also unusual, in being to military men and late in date (LSA 10 and 367, both discussed below). The only 'typical' dedication to a man who held civilian office in the Balkans is one from Constantia, to a governor or praetorian prefect (LSA 2603), and this too has exceptional characteristics: it is, most unusually, in Latin verse, displaying the influence of the Greek-language epigraphy of late antiquity. Below the level of imperial office-holders, nothing has yet been found from the Balkans—local notables are wholly absent from the statuary record.

In a region where civic life had never established deep roots, the absence of civic bodies and local notables extends also to the awarders of the statues. There are only a few surviving fourth-century dedications from the Balkans made by civic bodies—for example, one to Diocletian by the *boule* and *demos* of the traditional 'Greek' city of Constantia-Tomis (LSA 2602), and one to the deified Galerius by the *ordo* of Solva (LSA 1139). Most statues were set up by imperial office-holders (governors or praetorian prefects). For example, all of the imperial dedications from the period of sole rule by Constantine's sons were set up by governors. Other dedicating bodies are, however, occasionally attested: statues in Celeia to Constantine II and Constantius II (LSA 1127 and 1135) were ordered by a provincial assembly; and, most unexpectedly, a guild of carpenters set up a statue to Constans in Salona in 333–7 (LSA 1145). Outside Rome and southern Italy, dedications by guilds are almost non-existent; the only other such dedication that is certainly from our period was set up for a governor by the money-changers of Ephesus (LSA 727).

If we look at the dedications to emperors in more detail, it is striking how few there are from tetrarchic times: many more bases to emperors survive from the period of Constantine and his dynasty (thirteen) than from the time of the tetrarchs (seven). The Balkans were the birthplace of the tetrarchic emperors and where they spent much of their time and effort. Yet neither the frontier cities on the Danube, which were reshaped after the raids of the mid-third century, nor the newly founded tetrarchic cities of the interior provide substantial evidence for honours to their imperial benefactors. The few known statue inscriptions for tetrarchs come from the northern provinces of the region, at or near the border, and are absent in its Mediterranean and central areas.²

² Diocletian: LSA 366 (Oescus), 1111 (Viminacium), 2602 (Constantia), 2607 (Viminacium), 2648 (Lauriacum), and 2649 (Ovilava). Maximian: 2650 (Teurnia).

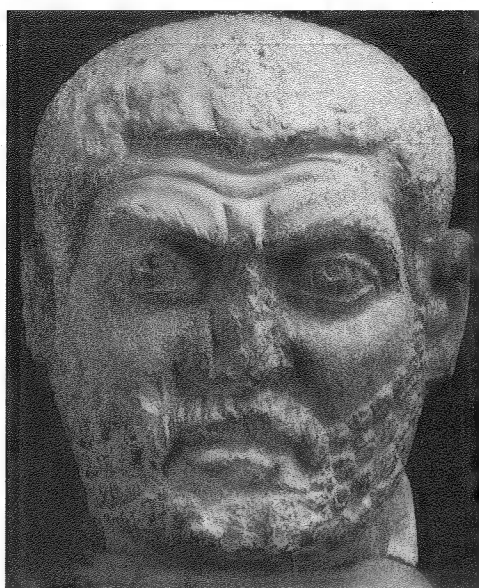


Fig. 6.3 Head of man with short-cropped hair and short beard. From Oescus. 284–305, LSA 1050. Sofia, National Museum, inv. 693. H: 29 cm.

A further puzzle is posed by the apparently conflicting evidence of the surviving sculpture: a group of some sixteen portrait heads, mainly from sites at or near the Danube frontier, several of high-quality workmanship, can be dated on stylistic grounds to the later third or earlier fourth centuries.³ Most have been interpreted as imperial portraits, which is likely, although the attributions to particular emperors are very uncertain (Fig. 6.3). How can we explain the presence of these sixteen tetrarchic-period heads in the region (and a total of thirty-one portrait heads from the late antique period as a whole) when there are so few statuary inscriptions? A partial explanation might be that some of these heads were from privately displayed busts, which seldom carried inscriptions. This hypothesis is strongly supported

³ LSA 886 (modern Spielfeld), 893 and 2429 (both Salona), 1000 (Durostorum), 1050 (Oescus), 1119 (Viminacium), 1937 and 2499 (both Constantia-Tomis), 2392 (Deborus), 2395 (Margum), 2396 (Emona), 2401 (Aguntum), 2405 (Loco Felicis?), 2518 (Intercisa), and 2519 (Virunum). LSA 2394 is from Serbia, but its precise provenance is unknown.

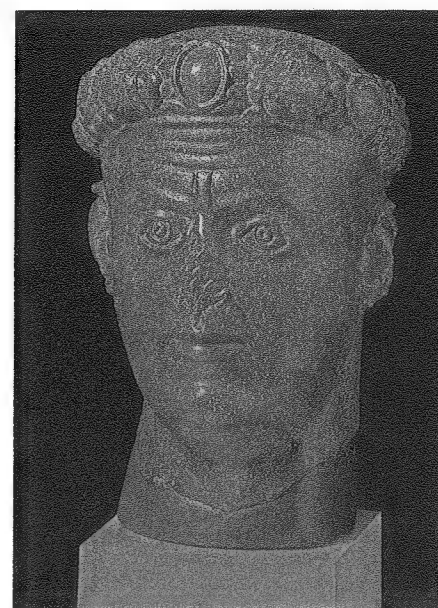


Fig. 6.4 Head of tetrarch wearing wreath with busts. From Felix Romuliana. Early fourth century, LSA 845. Zajčar, National Museum, inv. 1477. H: 35 cm. Cast (H 71), Ashmolean Museum.

by the fact that eleven of the heads, a third of the total number, are of women. Public statuary of women was rare in late antiquity, and indeed, in our region not a single statuary inscription to a woman has been found. The female portraits surely came from private contexts, and the same is probably true of many of the male ones.

Porphyry sculpture is a distinctive feature of the Balkan evidence (LSA 845, 1041, 1042, 1091, 1092, and 1118) (Fig. 6.4), and much of it seems to come from private or semi-private contexts. Porphyry sculpture is rare outside Egypt, where it was quarried, and outside the imperial capitals of Rome and Constantinople. That from the Balkans comes largely from the tetrarchic country residences of Felix Romuliana (LSA 845, 1091, and 1092) and Šarkamen (LSA 1118), where it was displayed in a rural and semi-private context, very different from the majority of our statuary, set up in public urban spaces. Also probably from an imperial residence, and hence not on general display, are two roughly carved double

herms from Salona (LSA 843 and 844). It has been argued that these represent emperors, paired with river gods; but there is no parallel for the use of a herm for imperial portraiture, nor for the pairing of emperors and river gods, and we are unconvinced that they are imperial.⁴

The six or seven imperial inscriptions from the Constantinian period are interesting, because only one is to Constantine alone—that set up in Solva by a provincial governor (LSA 1140). The other five, in one way or another, all stress the unity or the continuity of imperial power under Constantine, his fellow Augustus (and rival) Licinius, and their respective children. Again from Solva, but this time dedicated by the *ordo* of the city, comes a posthumous dedication that celebrates one of Constantine's predecessors, the deified Galerius (LSA 1139). The unity of imperial power was then prominently celebrated on the inscription to Constantine and Licinius over the city gate of Tropaea (LSA 1120), and this theme was extended to their children in a remarkable dedication from Celeia, the capital of Noricum Mediterraneum, which honours in a single inscription the young Caesars from both families, Crispus, Licinius II, and Constantine II (LSA 2653). A dynastic focus is also found on two further inscriptions from Celeia (LSA 1127 and 1135), but here it is only on the family of Constantine. The monuments were erected by the provincial assembly of Noricum Mediterraneum to Constantine's sons, Constantine II and Constantius II, as Caesars.⁵ The two bases have similar wording and were probably set up as part of a group, with a further statue to Constantine's

⁴ See Wrede (1986: 77). Further double herms are known from Salona; they formed part of the accoutrement of the amphitheatre, which was probably built in the early 4th c. and underwent several repairs and building activities into the 6th (Dyggve and Weilbach 1933).

⁵ Dedications by provincial assemblies to members of the imperial family are rare, and the only parallels in the LSA database are Theodosian in date: LSA 185 (Aphrodisias), set up by the Carians to Aelia Flacilla, wife of Theodosius I; LSA 1695 (Canusium), set up by the *Apuli et Calabri* to Theodosius' dead father. Dedications by provincials were mainly to imperial office-holders (praetorian prefects and governors) and/or to patrons.

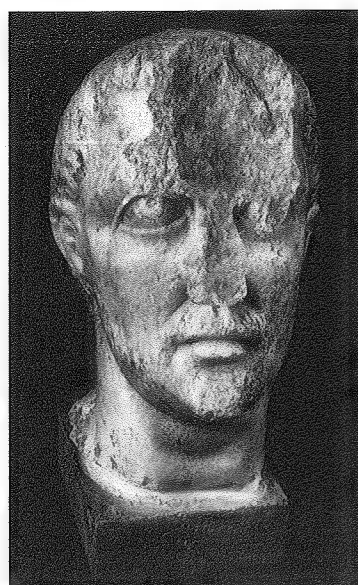


Fig. 6.5 Head of man with light beard. From Aquincum (Valeria). Fourth century, LSA 1054. Budapest, Aquincum Museum.

eldest son, Crispus, and perhaps one of Constantine himself. From Constantinian times we also have a gilded bronze head of Constantine from Naissus, cast as a single piece but designed to be attached to a body (LSA 557), as well as a male portrait from Aquincum at the northeast edge of the area (LSA 1054, Fig. 6.5).⁶

An emphasis on imperial unity extended into the reigns of Constantine's sons. An exceptional monument that illustrates this is LSA 1665, a statue base set up by the council and people to Constantine II in Augusta Traiana in the province of Thracia in 337–40, during the governorship of Flavius Palladius (Fig. 6.6). Its inscription praises Constantine—among other virtues—as ‘the champion of peace...who guarantees the friendship of the emperors and eternal Augusti’. All this praise was heaped on Constantine II even though Thracia was actually within the portion of the empire ruled by Constantine's brother,

⁶ The identification, made by Vasić, its excavator, of this head as Constantine I is widely accepted: Vasić (1901).

Constantius II. The explanation is that Constantine, as the eldest of Constantine I's three surviving sons, was seen by some (including our governor) as the senior Augustus, able to hold together the imperial college. The reality was different: Constantine fell out with his other brother, Constans, in 340 and was defeated and killed by him. In the following year, Palladius, who was still governing Thracia, took care that a statue was dedicated to the victor, also in Ulpia Augusta Traiana (LSA 1112). Despite, or perhaps because of, the conflict of the preceding year, Palladius stressed the harmony and unity of the empire, in this case by having the dedication made in the names of all three praetorian prefects—those of Italy, the East, and the Gallic provinces.⁷ A similar interest in promoting imperial unity is found in the dedications of a governor of Dalmatia, Sarmentius, who set up four of the seven imperial statues known from this period. Two of these were to Constantius II (both in the provincial capital, Salona: LSA 1136 and 1144) and two to Constans (one in Salona, one in Reditae: LSA 1143 and 1481). The two dedications to Constantius are particularly interesting because Dalmatia was within the half of the empire ruled by Constans; Sarmentius was clearly keen to express his loyalty to both Augusti.⁸ This emphasis on imperial unity in the statue dedications of the north Balkans in the time of Constantine and his sons is striking, but it has a ready explanation. The Danube frontier was the region where the two halves of the empire came up against each other most obviously, with large concentrations of soldiery on both sides of the border. Governors and provincials in this region were understandably careful to foster the ideology of imperial harmony, and particularly careful to acknowledge the legitimacy of all the reigning emperors.

⁷ We may suggest a strong personal input by the governor into the exceptional formulation of LSA 1112.

⁸ We are interpreting the four bases as contemporary, which is likely. It is, however, possible that Sarmentius' governorship straddled the death of Constans, and that the bases to Constantius II commemorate the new single Augustus of the whole empire.

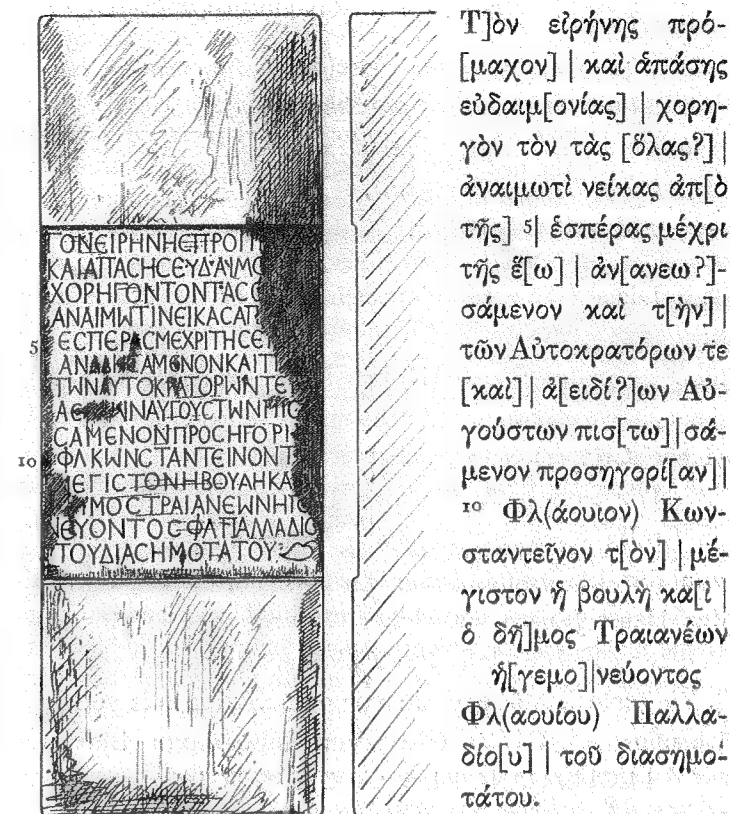


Fig. 6.6 Base for statue of Constantine II. From Ulpia Augusta Traiana. 337–40, LSA 1665. H: 180 cm.

There is no evidence of new statues to emperors in the second half of the fourth century,⁹ but a remarkable group of three rough bases of the early 430s perhaps testifies to a revival of the statue habit in the fifth century (LSA 1102, 1103, and 2445) (Fig. 6.7). Cuttings on the top surfaces of the blocks make it certain that they supported bronze statues. Even though none of the inscriptions names an honorand, all are securely dated by consular years (one each from 430, 431, and 432), and all were set up in the military camp attached to the Danubian border

⁹ None can be dated later than a dedication of 351–54 at Lychnidus (LSA 1085). A bizarre provincial head from Epidaurum dated by some to the mid-4th c. can be safely left out of account: see LSA 2397, with discussion.

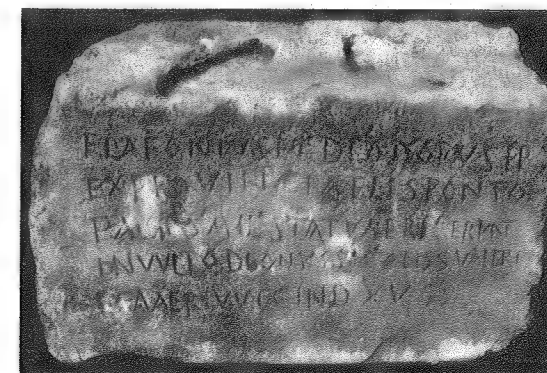


Fig. 6.7 Base for statue set up by *primipilarii*. From Novae. 432, LSA 1103. Novae, Lapidarium, inv. 63/97w. H: 33 cm.

τὸν εἰρήνης πρό-
[μαχον] | καὶ ἀπάσης
εὐδαιμ[ονίας] | χορη-
γὸν τὸν τὰς [θλας?] |
ἀναιμωτὶ νείκας ἀπ[ὸ
τῆς] | ἑσπέρας μέχρι
τῆς ἑ[ω] | ἀν[ανεω?]-
σάμενον καὶ τ[ῆν] |
τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων τε
[καὶ] | ἀ[εὶδ?]ων Αὐ-
γούστων πισ[τω] | σά-
μενον προσηγορί[αν] |
10 Φλ[άουιον] Κων-
σταντεῖνον τ[ὸν] | μέ-
γιστον ἢ βουλῇ κα[ὶ] |
ὁ δ[η]μος Τραιανέων
ἡ[γεμο] | νεύοντος
Φλ[αούιου] Παλλα-
δίου | τοῦ διασημο-
τάτου.

city of Novae and were dedicated by *primipilarii* (officers in charge of organizing the military food supply). These *primipilarii* at Novae were continuing a tradition that began in the second century, of marking the end of their service by erecting a statue.¹⁰ At that date, the dedications were to gods, a practice that continued into the fourth century and is documented in our database at both Novae and nearby Oescus (LSA 2594 and 2596–8). It is unlikely, however, that statues erected in the 430s could have been to the old gods; perhaps, as has been suggested, they were now images of the imperial family.¹¹ The group is unique in our evidence and has no parallel in other regions, nor at present can we tell whether it was only in Novae that statues were still being set up in the 430s or whether the practice existed more widely along the Danube.

Two inscriptions and remains of two bronze sculptures are further evidence of some remarkably late statuary in the north Balkans, dating from a period when the statue habit seems otherwise to have died out in this region.¹² The two inscriptions are certainly statue bases, and were both for military men: Aspar, *magister utriusque militiae*, who died in 471 (LSA 10, Ulpia Augusta Traiana), and Basiliscus, also *magister utriusque militiae* in the 460s, and briefly emperor in 475–6 (LSA 367, Philippopolis).¹³ These bases are

highly unusual, appearing so far north at such a late date and commemorating military men when honorific statuary had traditionally been a civic affair centred on Mediterranean city life. They may be part of a brief late trend in the ancient statue habit: statues for military men are a feature of Constantinople in the mid- to late fifth century,¹⁴ and another master of the soldiery was commemorated in 447–51 at Sagalassus in Asia Minor (LSA 639). From roughly the same period, or even later, comes a bronze female head at Naissus, whose diadem identifies her as an empress and dates her to the mid-fifth century at the earliest (LSA 759). The last piece of evidence we have for Balkan statuary is an exceptional survival: two fragments from a bronze statue wearing a cuirass (LSA 1784), from the acropolis of Justiniana Prima, the birthplace of the emperor Justinian (527–65).¹⁵ The central square was laid out around a monumental column, on which the statue probably stood. In a tradition that looked back to Constantine's famous forum, column, and statue in Constantinople, the city of Justiniana Prima felt that it too needed a grand bronze statue of its founder.¹⁶

¹⁰ Kolendo (1980).

¹¹ Sarnowski (2005: 228).

¹² A third inscription (LSA 13) perhaps testifies to an imperial statue of Zeno at Salona, but it is very fragmentary, and we have not been able to see the block to check whether it could have been a base.

¹³ The identification of this Aspar, as the honorand for LSA 10, can be doubted, but we argue on the discussion page for LSA 10 that it is correct.

¹⁴ Constantinople: Bauer (2003: 506–7).

¹⁵ There is no epigraphic evidence to clinch the identification of this site (modern Caričin Grad) as Justiniana Prima, but it is generally accepted.

¹⁶ In Dyrrachium, the birthplace of Anastasius, a similar columnar monument and circular forum have been found, dating from the later 5th c., but with no inscription or fragment of statuary: Hoti et al. (2008).

CHAPTER 7

Greek mainland and islands

Ulrich Gehn

This chapter discusses the inscribed bases and surviving statuary from the central, southern, and eastern parts of modern Greece and the Greek islands (including Crete) (Fig. 7.1). This does not correspond to any ancient administrative division, but the region is defined by the logic of urban life and statue use: central and southern Greece and the islands were 'civic' regions, distinct from the military zones of the north Balkans discussed in Chapter 6 (Gehn and Ward-Perkins).

The Greek mainland and islands formed part of a broad cultural area with western Asia Minor. This region, the Aegean heartland of Greek city life, was still heavily urbanized in late antiquity, and its cultural homogeneity is visible, for example, in its use of Greek for statue inscriptions. On the mainland, Latin was used at the beginning of our period for dedications to emperors set up by imperial office-holders, but when cities erected imperial statues they used Greek. On the islands, of the twenty-two dedications to emperors, only five are in Latin. Towards the end of the fourth century Greek became even more prevalent, supplanting Latin even for dedications by officers of the state: a series of dedications to emperors set up in Gortyna by the governor of Crete in 382/3 are all in Greek (LSA 472, 770, and 771).¹ Another

common feature of the entire Aegean region is the large numbers of statues wearing the late antique toga or the chlamys: very few such statues are found in the west.² While these two costume types were distinctively new, the Aegean was also characterized by the continued use of statues wearing the traditional hellenic himation.

Greece and the islands produce a total of c.270 entries in our database (217 from Greece, 55 from the islands). The numbers are small when compared to Asia Minor's c.490,³ but the region's more precarious economic and military situation must be taken into consideration. Although culturally linked to Asia Minor, the political, administrative, military, and economic history of the Greek mainland was less stable in late antiquity. As the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, it was exposed to repeated attacks from which Asia Minor was protected by the Bosphorus and the fleet.⁴ Already in the third, and from the late fourth and into the fifth century, it suffered serious barbarian invasions.

² See Ch. 1 (Smith) for discussion of these new costume types.

³ Four of our broad regions have more evidence: Asia Minor (c.490), Rome (c.490), North Africa (c.400), and southern Italy (c.290).

⁴ Ward-Perkins (2005: 60–61).

¹ Also telling are the dedications to Theodosius I and Arcadius on Rhodes (LSA 936 and 937), one in poor Latin, the other in an awkward mixture of both languages.



Fig. 7.1 Greece and islands. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

In political and economic terms, the Greek mainland and islands were peripheral to imperial interest, which focused on regions important for food and tax supply (Egypt, Asia Minor, and North Africa) and for raw materials (particularly metal from the Balkans). Greece, far from being a supplier, needed economic support, particularly in corn. In military terms too, imperial attention was focused elsewhere, on the vulnerable borders to the north and east. The seat of the praetorian

prefect of Illyricum, the head of the imperial administration in the region, was far to the north, at Sirmium or Thessalonica.⁵

In the light of this peripheral and often precarious situation, the number of attestations of late antique statues from Greece is remarkable. Powerful civic traditions and some available surplus of

⁵ See Demandt (1989: 214).

resources (money and/or recyclable honours) were sufficient conditions to maintain the statue habit. Strong economic prosperity was not a necessary condition, nor was political centrality.

THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

One indicator of the persistence of civic traditions in the region is the number of cities that were still setting up statues: no less than thirty-two cities on the mainland and thirteen on the islands are recorded in our database.

Most of the evidence (over 70 per cent) comes, however, from the single province of Achaea, the traditional nucleus of city culture in Greece. Crete is next in numbers, followed by the province of Insulae (the Islands). Macedonia, despite its proximity to Constantinople and the importance of Thessalonica, is only fourth.⁶ The largest individual contributors to the database are Athens (more than 60 items), Corinth (more than 50), and the provincial capital of Crete, Gortyna (30). These three cities are discussed individually in Chapters 14 (Brown), 15 (Gehn), 16, and 17 (Bigi and Tantillo).⁷ At the other end of the spectrum, there are single dedications from places as remote and unimportant as Aiane in Thessalia (LSA 935), Asopus in Achaea (LSA 912), and Photike in Epirus Vetus (LSA 932). It is difficult to argue from negative evidence, but it is likely that many Greek cities had no new statuary in late antiquity.

The governor's seat can usually be relied on to produce the most evidence for statuary within a province. In the case of Achaea, however, the evidence from Athens outweighs that of the provincial capital, Corinth. Athens was an exceptional city in terms of its civic pride and

identity, with incentives for the statue habit that were idiosyncratic and different from those of other cities. It was the city's status as a cultural capital and as the birthplace and main seat of philosophy, rhetoric, and higher education that made it stand out from other urban centres. A combination of civic engagement by the local aristocracy, political involvement by its intellectuals, and a desire to share in its cultural heritage by imperial office-holders (and even the emperor himself) shaped the image of late antique Athens and manifested itself in the city's statuary (explored further in Chapter 15). In Athens, local notables constitute about a third of the honorands in the epigraphic evidence—a ratio unmatched in any other provincial city of the empire.⁸

Given the dominance of imperial authorities over local aristocracies in provincial capitals, local notables are naturally fewer in the epigraphic evidence of Corinth. Here, only two local aristocrats are attested as honorands (LSA 17 and 51), while the provincial governor of Achaea is the main beneficiary of statue dedications.⁹ None of the inscriptions to governors in Corinth are dated by clear external evidence, but a good case can be made to place most of them in the fourth century. This is remarkable, since Corinth has a spectacular set of *chlamydati* (statues of men wearing the chlamys, probably representing governors of Achaea), which are dated with good reason to the late fourth and into the fifth century (see below).

Gortyna, the provincial capital of Crete, has twenty-four inscriptions in the database, even more than Athens. Fourteen of these belong to an exceptional group dedication set up by a governor of Crete, Asclepiodotus, in 382/3 (see Chapter 17). Asclepiodotus himself received two

⁶ Achaea: 20 cities, 194 entries (90 bases, 104 sculptures, 4 textual references). Crete: 4 cities, 35 entries (28 bases, 7 sculptures). Insulae: 10 cities, 21 entries (18 bases, 3 sculptures). Macedonia: 5 cities, 12 entries (4 bases, 8 sculptures). Epirus Nova: 2 cities, 3 entries (2 bases, 1 sculpture). Epirus Vetus: 1 city (1 base). Thessalia: 2 cities (1 base, 1 sculpture).

⁷ All three cities are in the major league of statue-producing cities, comparable in numbers to Aphrodisias (105), Ephesus (95), Lepcis Magna (92), and Ostia (41).

⁸ Athens: 22 total, with 8 local notables. Ostia: 20 total, with no local. Ephesus: 45 total, with 3 local. Aphrodisias: 40 total, with 8 local. Lepcis: 75 total, with 14 local.

⁹ Of the 13 dedications, 6 are to governors (LSA 18, 58, 60-2, and 359); 5 to emperors (LSA 16, 26, 50, and 52-3); and 2 to local notables (LSA 17 and 51). Local aristocrats do appear, however, a little more often taking charge of the erection of statues: LSA 17, 51, 61, and 62.

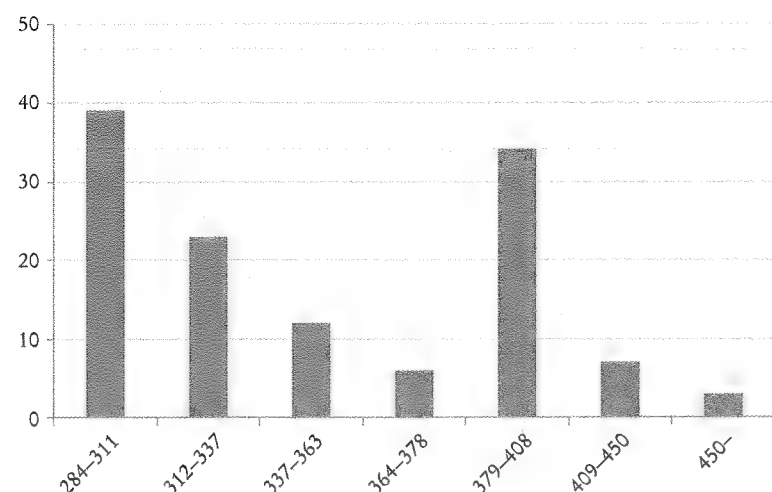


Fig. 7.2 Greece and islands. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty. Total = 114. The numbers for 379-408 include 16 statues associated with Asclepiodotus, governor of Creta.

statue honours, at Gortyna (LSA 774) and Olous (LSA 792), and with the fourteen statues that he erected, he demonstrates how much the late antique statue habit could be shaped by individual initiative. His sixteen statues constitute over half the twenty-eight statue honours attested for late antique Crete.

At a lower level, the enthusiasm of individual cities for new statuary seems to have varied for reasons that we can no longer identify. Thespieae, for instance, has produced an impressive eleven bases, eight for emperors between tetrarchic and Valentinianic times and three for imperial office-holders.

If we examine the epigraphic evidence (Fig. 7.2), we can see that, as in almost all regions of the empire, the tetrarchic period represents the high point of imperial dedications.¹⁰ There is then a decline in the time of Constantine and further decline under his sons. Overall numbers pick up in the Theodosian period (primarily due to non-imperial honours, and greatly boosted by the sixteen statues associated with Asclepiodotus,

¹⁰ An exception is the north Balkans, where they peak in the Constantinian period.

governor of Creta), but fall almost to zero in the fifth century.

A striking feature of the Greek evidence, also found in Asia Minor, is the greater resilience of non-imperial honours over imperial ones. Inscriptions to individuals below the level of the imperial house (imperial office-holders and local notables) can seldom be dated with precision; but it is clear that the survival of the statue habit in Greece into the fifth century depended unquestionably on honours, not of emperors, but of imperial office-holders and, to a lesser degree, of local notables. By this date, however, almost all the evidence is from Achaëa alone.

In the early fifth century, the datable evidence is reduced. Of the six inscriptions datable to the period 408-55 on the mainland, three are for the same individual, Herculus, a praetorian prefect of 407-12 (LSA 55, 137, and 138). Another two probably honour another individual, Plutarchus, possibly the head of the Neoplatonic school in Athens (LSA 134 and 136). The sixth inscription is an exceptional dedication that was set up for the empress Eudocia in her native city of Athens by her husband Theodosius II (LSA 139). From the islands, only one inscription, for Leontius, the praetorian prefect of 412-41, is attested in this

period. Five of the six mainland inscriptions are from Athens (only LSA 55 is from Megara). This suggests a progressive restriction of the statue habit, which was increasingly concentrated on specific individuals of outstanding rank or reputation and in single locations.

In the mid-fifth century, the dated epigraphic evidence more or less disappears. The little we have is far from secure: LSA 140 from Athens, to a certain Ioannes(?), is of uncertain date, and the reading of the honorand's name on LSA 945 from Samothrace as that of the emperor Justinian is doubtful. This apparent lack of epigraphic evidence from the later fifth century contrasts with the traditional dating of some of the sculptural remains (see below).

Honours for emperors constitute around 50 per cent of the epigraphic evidence (mainland 53 of 97, islands 22 of 45). Honours for imperial office-holders are next, with about one quarter of the total inscriptions (mainland 29 of 97, islands 8 of 45).¹¹ Local notables rank third, with slightly more than 10 per cent of the inscriptions (15 of 145). For the last category, numbers are higher on the mainland (12 of 100), and significantly lower on the islands (only 3 of 45, less than 7 per cent). It is striking that the region, often considered strongly attached to pagan religion, yielded only one dedication to a deity (LSA 377), which was set up in Thessalonica to Hercules, one of the protector divinities of the tetrarchy, by the tetrarchs themselves.¹²

Honours for emperors follow a clear pattern throughout the period. In the provincial capitals, they were usually set up by the governor, while in other cities they were erected by the civic authorities. The one striking exception to this rule is the special case of Athens, where the imperial honours that survive from before the fifth century were set up by governors (LSA 97, 399, 400, and 402), and where the statue of the

empress Eudocia of 421/39 was set up by her husband, the emperor himself (LSA 139).¹³

Among the honours for emperors, a few stand out. Delphi set up five statues of Constantine I and his relatives, which are interesting primarily for the link they express between 'the holy (pagan) city' and the dynasty of the first Christian emperor—though also for the strikingly poor quality of their epigraphy (LSA 927, 928, 929, 930, and 1077). In 364-67, the same city, when setting up statues to Valentinian I and Valens, referred to itself simply as 'the city of the Delphians' (LSA 931). Only one statue inscription survives from Stobi in Macedonia Secunda, but it is a remarkable one (LSA 2731). There, the city set up a gilded bronze equestrian statue of the late father of the emperor Theodosius I (379-95). Theodosius certainly welcomed such commemorations of his father, since others are attested, but why apparently only Stobi of all the cities of mainland Greece should have courted imperial favour in this way is unknown.

Honours for imperial office-holders are rare on the islands, if we exclude the group set up for high-ranking senators in Gortyna (LSA 773 and 775-83), while on the mainland they come exclusively from cities in the province of Achaëa.¹⁴ The dates are good enough to demonstrate a rise in numbers for this honorand category after the Constantinian period.¹⁵ Most of these inscriptions honour provincial governors, with only four being certainly for praetorian prefects, all of the late fourth (LSA 1) or early fifth century (LSA 55, 137, and 138). Governors,

¹³ Other minor exceptions are: LSA 910, set up by a governor in Sparta, and LSA 1125, set up by a praetorian prefect in Heraclea Perinthus. LSA 53 is the only honour for an emperor in Corinth set up by the city itself.

¹⁴ Islands: LSA 774 and 785-7 (Gortyna); 792 and 1161 (Olous); 803 (Samos). Mainland: LSA 1, 2, 93, 94, 103, 137, 138, and 425 (Athens); 18, 58, 60-62, and 359 (Corinth); 6, 357, and 825 (Sparta); 55-7 (Megara); 595, 998, and 999 (Argos); 795 and 839 (Thespieae); 432 (Tegea); 600 (Troizen); 794 (Olympia); 2695 (Elis).

¹⁵ 284-312: LSA 60, 93, and 94. 312-37: LSA 6, 785, and 795. 337-63: LSA 56, 62, 359, 825, 839, and 998. 363-78: LSA 595 and 839. 378-408: LSA 1, 2, 18, 57, 103, 357, 432, 600, 774, 792, and 999. Some of these datings are necessarily approximate.

¹¹ These numbers exclude Asclepiodotus' honours for important senators at Gortyna, none of which were for local office-holders.

¹² By contrast, Rome has 18 dedications to divinities, southern Italy 5, western North Africa 23, and Asia Minor 11.

who are still present in the evidence of the late fourth century, are missing in the evidence that can be dated to the early fifth.¹⁶ This may suggest that the inscriptions to governors that cannot be dated belong with more probability to the fourth than to the fifth century.¹⁷

As already stated, honours for local notables constitute a small but appreciable proportion of the epigraphic evidence (some 10 per cent of the whole). Apart from one inscription on Thasos (LSA 940), they too are all from Achaia; indeed, over half are from Athens or honoured Athenian aristocrats.¹⁸ As usual in late antiquity, inscribed honours for women are very rare. Only three survive: two to empresses (LSA 139 and 924) and one on a bust from Melos (LSA 2300). The twelve female heads that survive from Greece and the islands came most likely from more or less privately displayed busts.¹⁹ The inscribed female bust from Melos indeed says that it was set up *en tōi idiō autēs ergōi*, 'in her own building'—that is, probably, her own home or a building that she had paid for (LSA 2300, with discussion).

THE SCULPTURAL EVIDENCE

Greece has produced considerable quantities of late antique statuary, though almost none of it can be linked to surviving inscribed bases. Consequently, there is often considerable doubt over the dating of the sculpture and over the status of the individuals represented.

From the point of view of costume, the most important late antique Greek sculptures are nine statues wearing the chlamys (eight from Corinth: LSA 15 (Fig. 14.11), 19, 20, 21 (Fig. 14.9), 22 (Fig. 14.5), 23, 24, and 80 (Fig. 14.12); one from

Megara: LSA 54), and three wearing the late antique toga (a bust and a statue from Athens: LSA 142 (Fig. 15.7) and 143; a bust from Thessalonica: LSA 2363).

The chlamys was a military dress that was possibly introduced as early as the reforms of the tetrarchy as a garment for office-holders in the imperial administration (*militia inermis*). It is absent from senatorial imagery until the late fourth century.²⁰ In the Theodosian period, however, it appears most often in representations of personnel of high senatorial rank serving in the imperial administration.²¹ This was a time when the careers of Roman and Constantinopolitan senators were harmonized and unified with those of men who had risen in imperial office or at court, a process which concluded in the 370s.²² The top officers of the imperial administration, such as praetorian prefects, vicars, and most provincial governors, which had been downgraded to equestrian rank by the tetrarchic reforms, had by the 370s been re-elevated to senatorial rank. The conditions for the military garment to be adopted in senatorial representations had been fulfilled, and its frequent representation in art is not a coincidence.²³

Most of the *chlamydati* in Greece have traditionally been dated to the fifth century on stylistic grounds. Sturgeon has recently proposed a pre-Theodosian date for the 'Theatre-*chlamydatus*' at Corinth, LSA 15 (Fig. 14.11).²⁴ Her arguments, however, are not conclusive, and the dated evidence points to the widespread adoption of the chlamys by high-ranking office-holders only from the Theodosian period.²⁵ Together with the fragmentary *chlamydatus*, LSA 21 (Fig. 14.9),

²⁰ Gehr (2012: ch. 3 and 317–18); see also Ch. 1 (Smith).

²¹ Notably on the Theodosian obelisk base and city-gate sarcophagi. See Gehr (2012: 113–16, 117–28).

²² The laws are collected in the Theodosian Code, Book VI, *ut dignitatum ordo servetur*. On this process, see Chastagnol (1982).

²³ Wrede (2001: 93); Gehr (2012: ch. 3, esp. 128–32, 186–9).

²⁴ Corinth IX.3, 164. For criticism of this dating, see Brown (2012: 148, 160–61).

²⁵ Brown (2012: 169–71); Gehr (2012: 470–73); here Ch. 1 (Smith).

the 'Theatre *chlamydatus*' may be better seen as an early piece within the Corinthian series and dating to the late fourth century.

Most of the other Corinthian *chlamydati* have traditionally been dated as late as the Justinianic period (LSA 19, 23, 24, and 80 (Fig. 14.12)). I agree that it is likely that they are substantially later than the two 'early' pieces mentioned above (LSA 15 and 21 (Figs 14.11 and 9)), since they represent the figure in such a radically different way: parallel vertical folds for the drapery, with little attempt to show the underlying body.²⁶ The evidence from our database, however, suggests that new statuary had effectively disappeared from Greece before 500, and argues strongly against a date as late as the sixth century. Indeed, the recent discovery of a *chlamydatus* re-used for a threshold block in the Kraneion Basilica of the early sixth century (LSA 80 (Fig. 14.12)) suggests that the urban, ideological, and aesthetic value of such statues had by this date been lost (see also Chapter 14, Brown). Other than the numerous examples in Corinth, the only full statue in a chlamys from Greece is one in Megara (LSA 54) that closely resembles the later group in Corinth.

The obvious rank for men honoured with chlamys statues in Corinth, the provincial capital of Achaia, is the governor (proconsul). A remarkably fine *chlamydatus* bust found in the region of Thessalonica (LSA 90 (Figs 1.19, 23.20)) together with a female pendant (LSA 91 (Fig. 20.4)) almost certainly honours a figure higher in the imperial administration. A fragmentary head from Corinth is a close version of the same portrait type (LSA 358 (Fig. 1.18)) and so represents the same man. Known in two widely spaced portraits made after a 'distributed' model, he is likely to have been a figure of wider geographical importance than a provincial governor—perhaps a vicar of the diocese of Macedonia or, more probably, a praetorian prefect of Illyricum (a category of honorand for whom we have dedications). The rendering of

the drapery, hair, and facial features on both LSA 90 and 91 (Fig. 20.4) and the male hairstyle of LSA 90 (Figs 1.19, 23.20), with its moderate 'coil', strongly suggest a date around 400 for this pair of busts.²⁷ Their exceptional quality may reflect the influence of Constantinopolitan workshops. Thessalonica has produced no statue inscriptions after the tetrarchic period, but these two busts and two further portraits of probable Theodosian date (LSA 1709, a reworked head for insertion, and LSA 2363, a reworked bust) confirm that this important city supported new statuary, as we would expect.

Of the three representations of men wearing the distinctive late antique toga, the most sophisticated is a bust from Athens (LSA 142 (Fig. 15.7)). It displays the triangular chest-band in an arrangement first seen on the obelisk base in Constantinople of 390–92.²⁸ The refined quality of the carving is comparable to the *chlamydatus* bust in Thessalonica discussed above (LSA 90), and it may also date to around 400.

The prominent long beard of this portrait could lead one to interpret it as representing a philosopher or even a 'holy man'. Its wreath hairstyle, however, is entirely in keeping with representations of high-ranking imperial office-holders, while the toga unequivocally marks the man's senatorial rank. His precise status must remain unclear. If he were a governor, we might expect him to be dressed in a chlamys, in line with the many *chlamydati* of Corinth (where there are no toga statues); but perhaps it was felt appropriate in the special context of Athens for the governor to dress in more civilian garb. He could be nothing more than a local notable, who happened to be of senatorial rank and was proud of the fact. His 'philosophical' beard might also have local meaning. Established families in Athens were deeply involved in the city's educational and philosophical traditions, unbroken in late antiquity, and the epigraphic evidence is unequivocal on how status, civic office, and learning were closely connected

¹⁶ This shift of honours from governors to higher-ranking office-holders may be an empire-wide phenomenon, but this is a hypothesis that requires further testing.

¹⁷ LSA 58, 61, 425, 794, 796, 803, 827, 1161, and 2695.

¹⁸ Athens: LSA 102, 134, 135, 136, 141, and 424. LSA 95 is from Eleusis but for an Athenian. The rest of the evidence is scattered. Corinth: LSA 17 and 51. Patrae: LSA 431. Epidaurus: LSA 579. Tegea: LSA 1078.

¹⁹ The heads are LSA 76, 77, 91, 144, 146, 420–1, 2298–9, 2300, 2693, and 2694.

²⁶ None can be associated with a surviving head that would allow comparison, on the basis of hairstyle, with the better-dated statues at Aphrodisias.

²⁷ L'Orange (1961).

²⁸ Gehr (2012: 138–9, type 2).

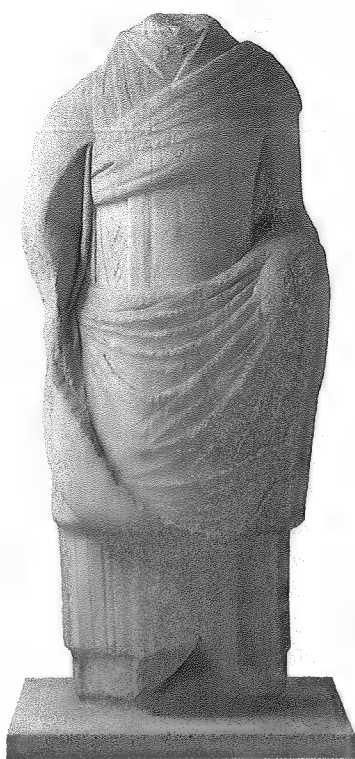


Fig. 7.3 Headless statue of man in toga. From Athens. Later fifth century, LSA 143. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. S 657. H: 133 cm.

within the Athenian aristocracy. A full, long beard was one of the markers of Hellenism and philosophical interest, and it might be natural for it to have had this meaning in cities that proudly cultivated their intellectual traditions, such as Athens and Sparta.²⁹

A second representation of the late antique toga occurs in a full-length statue, LSA 143, also from Athens, which is strikingly rectangular in form, perhaps because it was carved out of an architectural block (Fig. 7.3).³⁰ It is traditionally dated to the late fifth century because of the highly schematic treatment of the drapery. This is plausible, although some typological features

(the 'apron' extended in front of the lower body and the loosely wrapped *balteus*) are otherwise only known from the earliest late antique toga statues.³¹

One striking feature of the statues in Greece is the comparatively high number of male figures wearing the traditional himation, another indication of the civic conservatism of the region. There are twelve such pieces from Greece and the islands in our database.³² A late antique date has been proposed for the Corinthian himation statues, LSA 78, 2311, and 2361, mainly on the basis of their poor craftsmanship (LSA 2311 is also reworked from an older female statue). Some doubts remain; each of these statues could 'be an incompetent piece from almost any period'.³³

Iamblichus, a distinguished philosopher of the later fourth century, was honoured in a highly traditional portrait form, an inscribed herm (LSA 135 (Fig. 15.2)). The sculpture is a re-used piece from the high imperial period, bare-chested with a corner of the himation hanging from the left shoulder. The portrait herm was a form of public honour restricted to Athens and with a long tradition there.³⁴ Here, it was particularly suited to represent the honorand's intellectual and traditional virtues. The edge of a garment, most probably a himation, is also extant on the long-haired, long-bearded portrait head wearing a wreath in the Acropolis Museum at Athens (LSA 1083 (Fig. 23.14)). This head, which has traditionally been associated with philosophers and the concept of the 'holy man', is the only one in Athens that unreservedly deserves such a description.³⁵ There is no clear evidence to suggest whether it was from a public statue or a privately displayed bust.³⁶

There was a tradition of displaying shield portraits of intellectual figures inside houses associated

³¹ Gehn (2012: 137–9, 147–8, 155–8, and 465–9, cat. O 37).

³² LSA 78, 135, 414, 483, 1083, 2091, 2301, 2311, 2360, 2361, 2392, and 2696.

³³ De Grazia (1973: 280) on LSA 2361.

³⁴ Wrede (1986: 73–7).

³⁵ On such late antique intellectual portraits, see Zanker (1995: 288–300).

³⁶ It has been suggested, but cannot be documented, that it came from the so-called 'house of Proclus' on the southern slope of the Acropolis (Dontas 1954: 152).

²⁹ See, e.g. LSA 429, 131, and 2297.

³⁰ It was found in the area of the late antique 'Palace of the Giants', whose precise function is much discussed: see Fowden (1990: 497–501).

with teaching and learning.³⁷ Eunapius mentions statues of his pupils in the Athenian house of the fourth-century philosopher Julian of Cappadocia (LSA 1162). Two tondi from Athens and Corinth (LSA 483 and 2360) and three himation busts from Sparta and Athens (LSA 414, 2091, and 2301) probably belong to this tradition.

There are over eighty sculpted heads of probable late antique date from our region, all now separated from their busts or statues. Several portraits, mainly from Athens, display the 'contorted physiognomies' typical of the tetrarchic period. Their hair, however, is plastically rendered in the Greek tradition, instead of being lightly picked into the head, as was common in the west.³⁸ Smoother physiognomies and a 'Constantinian' hairstyle are sometimes combined with a picked beard (LSA 66, 70, 73, 422, and 1708). The development of an imperial portrait type in the Constantinian period led to attempts to find iconographic patterns to dignify other honorands, notably imperial office-holders, and at the same time to distinguish their portraits from the imperial image.³⁹ A fine head in Athens perhaps marks the final development of this trend (LSA 2291).

A number of male heads have been dated in earlier scholarship to the late fourth to fifth century.⁴⁰ In most cases, this date depends on the 'wreath' hairstyle worn by the honorands, which was fashionable in the Theodosian period.⁴¹ It is accompanied by furrowed physiognomies that contrast with the studied calm of imperial portraiture, characterized by lank, forward-brushed hair, smooth faces, and the diadem. The wreath

hairstyle and the furrowed face constitute a portrait type distinctive of imperial office-holders. It highlighted the insurmountable gap between the emperor and all his subjects.⁴²

Two portraits in Athens have traditionally been associated with Theodosian 'classicism' and are therefore included in our database (LSA 126 and 132 (Fig. 23.27)). LSA 126 is considered here to date to the Severan period both on the basis of its *a-penna* hairstyle and its bean-shaped pupils. The crowned priestly head, LSA 132 (Fig. 23.27), has been described as 'a typical example of early-Theodosian classicism' or referred to as the emperor Julian because of its priestly attribute.⁴³ Again, stylistic, technical, and iconographic indicators suggest a date in the second or early third century. The eyes (Fig. 23.25) are shaped, as those of LSA 126, in the usual manner of that period, and the virtuosity of the marble finish, with its variety in texture and high polishing, as well as the artificially styled hair and beard, also suggest a date in the late Antonine or Severan periods.⁴⁴ The careful orchestration of the portrait as a (pagan) priest with tall headgear also suits better the earlier period. The same arguments apply to a remarkable priestly portrait head in Corinth, LSA 74, with similar headgear and beard. Like LSA 132, it is generally dated to the late antique period but is almost certainly earlier.

Imperial portraits are rare in the region. Two heads with short-cropped hair and picked beards from Athens, and another probably from the same city, may well be imperial portraits of the late tetrarchic period (LSA 128, 129, and 802). The same could be true of three heads from Corinth (LSA 66, 73, and 2343) and one from Gortyna (LSA 859).⁴⁵ The two most remarkable imperial images from this region are both probably of the earlier fourth century: an under-life-size

³⁷ The classic example is the group of tondi discovered at Aphrodisias (Smith 1990). These (LSA 206–14) are discussed further below in Ch. 12 (Smith).

³⁸ LSA 120, 123, 124, 125, 127, 415(?), 416(?), 418, 2292, and 2294.

³⁹ Zanker (1988); Bergmann (2000b).

⁴⁰ LSA 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 75, 81, and 358 (Corinth). LSA 101, 117, 119, 130, 131 (Fig. 23.26), 1083, and 2694 (Athens). LSA 90 (Fig. 1.19) and 1709 (Thessalonica). LSA 429 (Boston).

⁴¹ LSA 67, 69, 72, 75, 81, and 358 (Corinth). LSA 90 and 1709 (Thessalonica). LSA 101, 117, 119 (Fig. 23.24), and 130 (Athens).

⁴² Zanker (1982).

⁴³ Classicism: Meischner (1990a: 320). Julian: Kastriotis (1923); Datsoule-Stavrde (1985); Kaltsas (2002).

⁴⁴ Smith (1990).

⁴⁵ The large bust in Deborus (LSA 2392) and a head in Styberra (LSA 2393) are discussed in Ch. 6 (Gehn and Ward-Perkins).

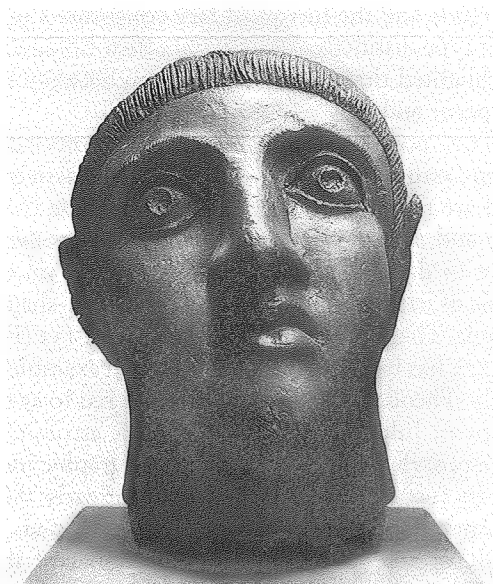


Fig. 7.4 Bronze head of emperor. From Metropolis. Early fourth century, LSA 2432. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. A14395. H: 23 cm.

marble statue from a domestic context in Messene (LSA 2364) and a schematic bronze head from Metropolis, possibly once set on a marble torso (LSA 2432) (Fig. 7.4). The main arguments for this date are their Constantinian hairstyle, imperial subject, and lack of a diadem.⁴⁶

Nine closely related heads, from Athens, Epidauros, Eleusis, Delphi, and Corinth, have repeatedly stirred scholarly interest and deserve comment (LSA 79, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, and 894) (Fig. 7.6 = LSA 115 and Fig. 7.5 = LSA 116).⁴⁷ A tenth head, from the Athenian Agora, belongs to the same group but is not included in our database because it is now universally accepted to be of the mid-third century.⁴⁸ LSA 116, from Eleusis, is very similar to this Agora head and, in my opinion,

⁴⁶ A reworked imperial head now in Istanbul, LSA 1059, is possibly from Cydonia (Crete). It is similar in appearance to another possibly late antique colossal imperial head of uncertain date from near Thessalonica, LSA 1196.

⁴⁷ Gehn (2013). For a different interpretation of these heads, see Ch. 21 (Lenaghan). LSA 894 is now in the Vatican without indication of its origin; it could also have come from Greece: Kaschnitz-Weinberg (1937: 282–3, no. 679).

⁴⁸ Harrison (1953: cat. no. 49).

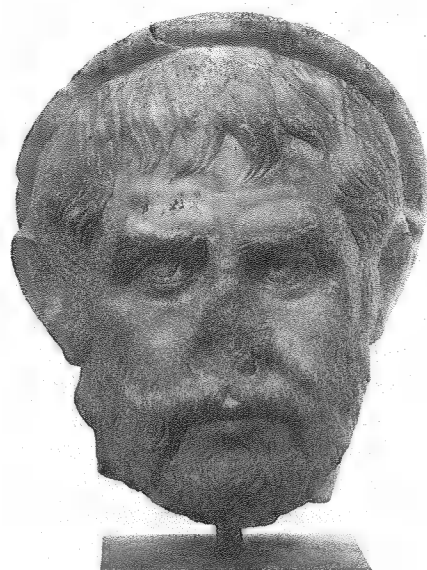


Fig. 7.5 Head in 'Iamblichus type'. From Eleusis. Mid to later third century, LSA 116. Elefsina, Archaeological Museum, inv. 5144. H: 30 cm.

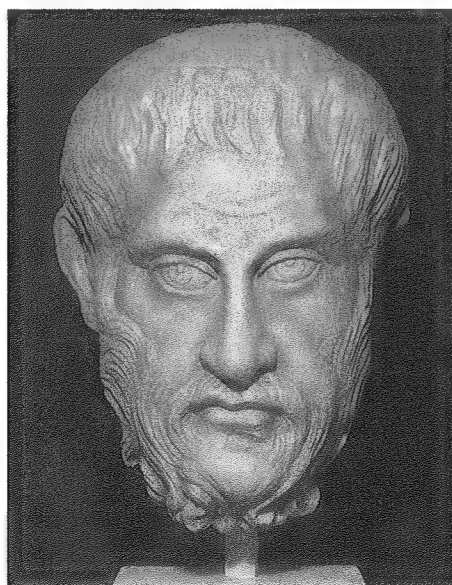


Fig. 7.6 Head in 'Iamblichus type'. From Epidauros. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 115. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 582. H: 32 cm.

of the same date. The hair is a dense plastic mass, articulated only superficially, and the face is characterized by intense muscular movement and heavily contracted eyebrows.

Little attention has been paid to a non-stylistic criterion for dating the Eleusis head. It was found together with a base carrying an honorific inscription to M. Iunius Minucianus Nicagoras.⁴⁹ There is no detailed account of the discovery, but Hekler, the first scholar to discuss the head, took it for granted that it belonged with the inscription.⁵⁰ The honorand is praised as a herald of the Eleusinian mysteries (*hierokēryx*), teacher of rhetoric in Athens, and offspring of philosophers. Nicagoras is a known figure; he was born in the late second century, died in the time of Philip the Arab (244–9) or shortly thereafter, and his priestly status is confirmed by a remark in Philostratus.⁵¹ On the Eleusis inscription the name of Nicagoras is not in the hieronymous form obligatory for living priests, so the dedication must be posthumous.⁵² This leads to a date in the mid-third century. Stylistic analysis and non-stylistic evidence are in perfect accord.

The other eight heads in this group all share a conspicuous beard that covers the neck and forms spiral fringes below the chin. A similar beard appears on coin portraits of the emperor Tacitus (275–6). It also appears on a bust in the Louvre and on a portrait of the deceased on a sarcophagus from Ostia (the 'Annona-sarcophagus'), whose date in the third quarter of the third century is confirmed by the hairstyle of the man's wife.⁵³ The evidence strongly suggests that these heads are of the pre-tetrarchic third century, despite L'Orange's argument on stylistic grounds for a Constantinian date. The earlier dating is now widely accepted.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ IG II/III² 3814.

⁵⁰ Hekler (1940).

⁵¹ Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* II, 33.

⁵² On hieronymous form, see Clinton (1974: 9–10).

⁵³ Louvre bust: De Kersauson (1996: 514–15, no. 245). Annona-sarcophagus: Museo nazionale romano, inv. No. 40799 = *MNR* I.8, 46–51 (L. Musso).

⁵⁴ L'Orange (1933: 43; 1975); Harrison (1953: 102); von Sydow (1969: 106–7); Bergmann (1977: 158); Voutiras (1981: 207).

L'Orange interpreted these heads as portraits of *homines spirituales*, men of the spirit, and his association of the group with the 'saints' of the Neoplatonic school has been highly influential. The base, however, that can reasonably be associated with the Eleusis head (LSA 116) provides conflicting and, in my opinion, convincing evidence of the type of person that these heads represented: its inscription honours Nicagoras, a member of a long-established Athenian aristocratic family.

As we have seen, local notables are present in the epigraphic evidence in Athens to an extent unmatched elsewhere in the empire, and in my opinion, these heads are of such men. It is true that the iconography of these heads echoes that of the intellectual, but this was entirely appropriate for an aristocracy that took pride in maintaining the intellectual traditions of its city. Iconographic references to intellectual heroes of the glorious past are a well-known feature of Greek portraits in the second and early third century,⁵⁵ and in our group, too, the conspicuous 'fork' motif in the hair above the right eyebrow may be an iconographic reference to the portrait-type of Thucydides.⁵⁶

How many individuals are represented by these heads is unclear. While three, four, or even five of the heads seem to follow a single model and so represent a single individual (LSA 79, 112, 113, and perhaps 115 and 894), others display different physiognomic characteristics. It is possible, as several scholars have suggested, that some of the heads represent the late third-century Athenian historian P. Herennius Dexippus.⁵⁷ Two statue bases from Athens are known to be for Dexippus, the only person in this period who is represented with more than one statue base in the epigraphic evidence.⁵⁸ These heads sit happily within the most striking feature of late antique Greek statuary: a powerful civic aristocratic desire to maintain a traditional statue habit.

⁵⁵ Krumeich (2004).

⁵⁶ *POG* 147–50, figs 825–48.

⁵⁷ Harrison (1953); Voutiras (1981, discussing LSA 114).

⁵⁸ IG II/III² 3669 (now Louvre), 3670 (both statue bases), 3198.

CHAPTER 8

Asia Minor

Julia Lenaghan

The tradition of honorific statuary continued to play an important role in late antique Asia Minor. The evidence is rich and widely dispersed (Figs 8.1 and 8.2). In the south and west, civic centres were maintained and refurbished and marble and sculptors were readily available. There the 'classical' statue tradition remained strong (Figs 8.3 and 8.4). New marble and highly skilled carvers distinguished these cities even in late antiquity. Asia Minor has the largest quantity of high-quality, expressive surviving marble portraiture in the LSA database. The outstanding sculptural record in this region allows the main trends in statue technique and self-representation to be traced from the late fourth to early sixth century. After a brief consideration of the evidence of the inscribed bases, this chapter will concentrate on these aspects of the surviving statuary, in several wide chronological sections.

EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

The epigraphic evidence is abundant and follows much the same pattern as the rest of the Greek-speaking part of the Empire (Fig. 8.5). Some 47 per cent of the statue inscriptions (128) are for emperors or members of the imperial family (Fig. 8.6). Their numbers are high between 284 and 312, and then decline through the fourth century; there is nothing in the fifth century after 423. Then there are two bases for Justinian (LSA 231

and 365). All but one of the sixty-two bases in Latin from Asia Minor were for emperors or members of the imperial family (one was for a statue of *Pietas Augustorum*: LSA 2087).¹ One important problem in this body of imperial material is distinguishing milestones and votive inscriptions from statue bases—especially when the texts are fragmentary.

The remaining 53 per cent of inscriptions honoured imperial office-holders (76, of whom 47 are governors) and local notables (36). Other categories of honorand are divinities (19), athletes (2), and cultural heroes (2). In spite of well-recognized dating difficulties outside imperial honours, two trends may be observed. First, governors are the largest single body of honorands after emperors. Second, in the fifth and sixth centuries these honours well outnumber those for the emperors. The close relationship of governors and their metropolitan cities remained important and a focus of statue honours, when this old practice was otherwise declining. More than half of the bases for governors and notables were inscribed in verse. It is clear that, for whatever reason, verse inscriptions were considered more appropriate for non-imperial honorands. (Only one emperor is honoured in verse, at the end of our period—Justinian at Pisidian Antioch, LSA 365.) These verse texts remain

¹ The one non-imperial base in Latin is LSA 220 from Aphrodisias. It is in verse and probably for a governor.

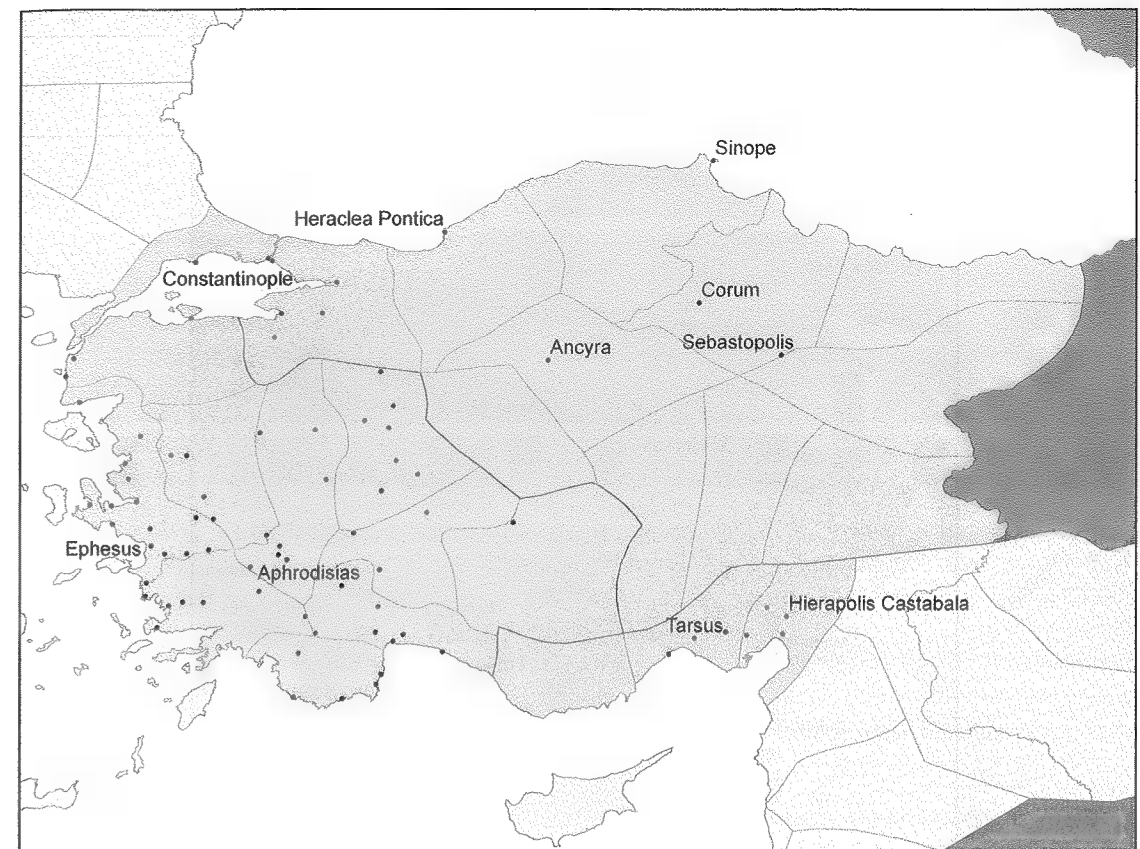


Fig. 8.1 Asia Minor. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

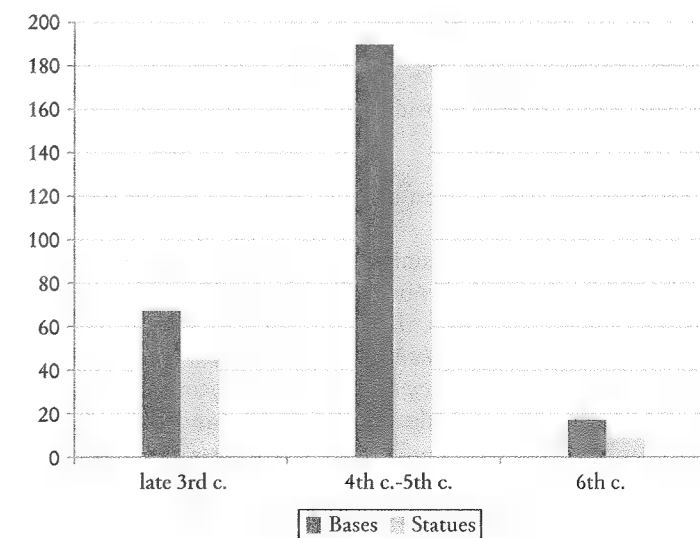


Fig. 8.2 Asia Minor. Inscribed bases (total = 270) and surviving statuary (total = 235) by century.



Fig. 8.3 Western Asia Minor. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

difficult to date, but the evidence seems densest in the (later) fourth and fifth centuries.

An interesting aspect, which concerns mainly the epigraphic record but also a handful of portraits, relates to Christian symbols: the cross, the abbreviation ΧΜΓ, and in one case the word *theos*. These seem to appear with the greatest frequency in Asia Minor (elsewhere few seem to be recorded). The cross appears on thirty bases and as a staurogram on top of one head (LSA 252, Fig. 8.7), and the abbreviation ΧΜΓ appears on two bases (LSA

224 and 662) and at least three heads (LSA 150 (Fig. 1.15), 176, and 318 (Fig. 1.20)). There are two 'Christianized' monuments to Aelia Flacilla (LSA 723 at Ephesus, and LSA 185 at Aphrodisias,); four for Anthemius (praetorian prefect of *Oriens*, c.405–15) and his son Flavius Anthemius Isidorus, proconsul of Asia, 410–36) from Ephesus (LSA 662 and 729), Aphrodisias (LSA 224), and Hypaipa (LSA 240); three monuments to Stephanus, a governor of Asia, all from Ephesus (LSA 487, 732, and 747); four monuments to the

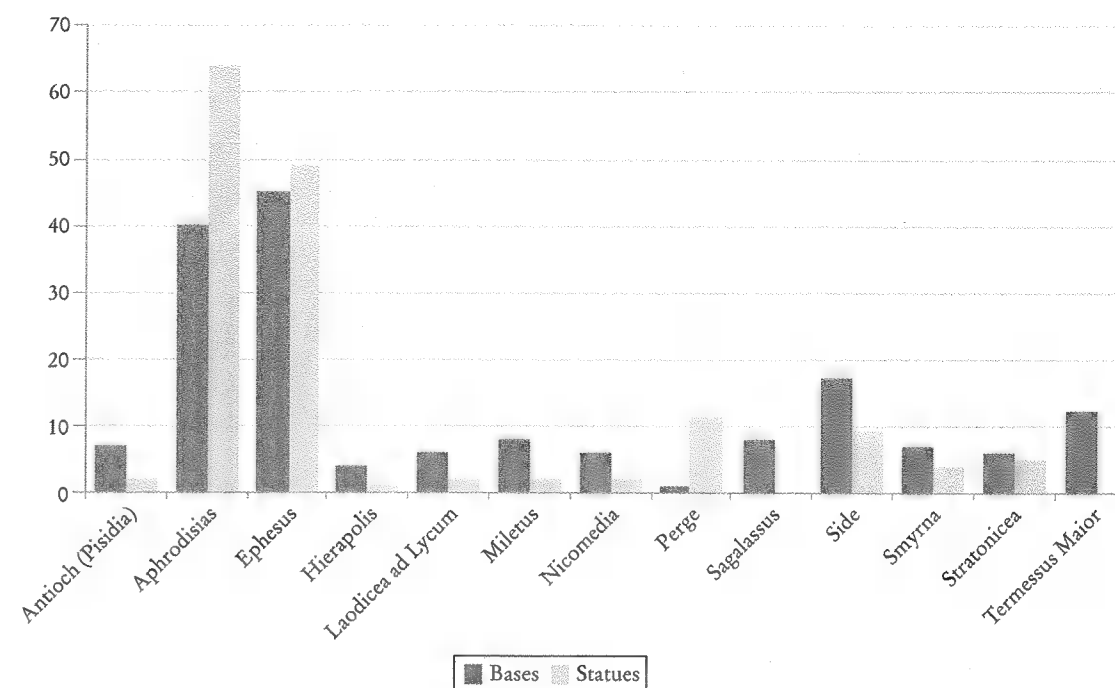


Fig. 8.4 Asia Minor. Cities with five or more records of late antique statue honours.

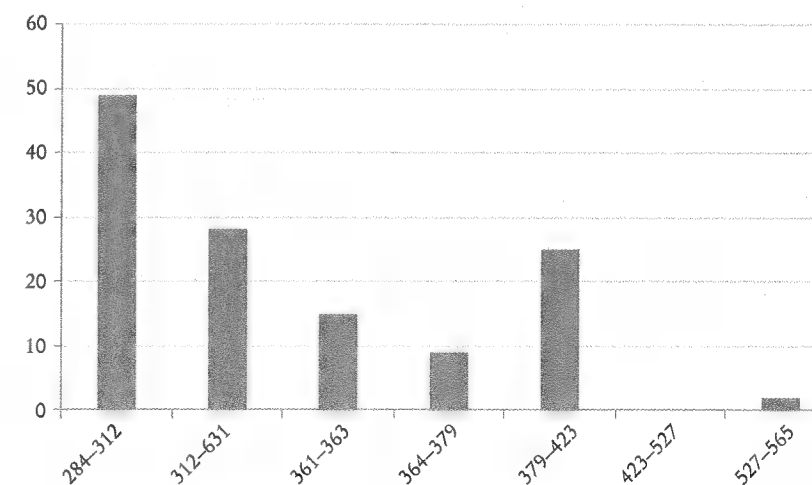


Fig. 8.5 Asia Minor. Dated bases for imperial statues. Total = 128.

local benefactor Maximus in Stratoniceia (LSA 657, 1200, 1201, 1202); and two monuments to Vitianus, governor of Caria, in Aphrodisias (LSA 229) and Miletus (LSA 551). Of these monuments several

have a fixed chronology: the honours for Aelia Flacilla, a noted Christian, belong in the period 379–86; the portrait of Oecumenius, which bears the ΧΜΓ abbreviation on the top of the head, dates

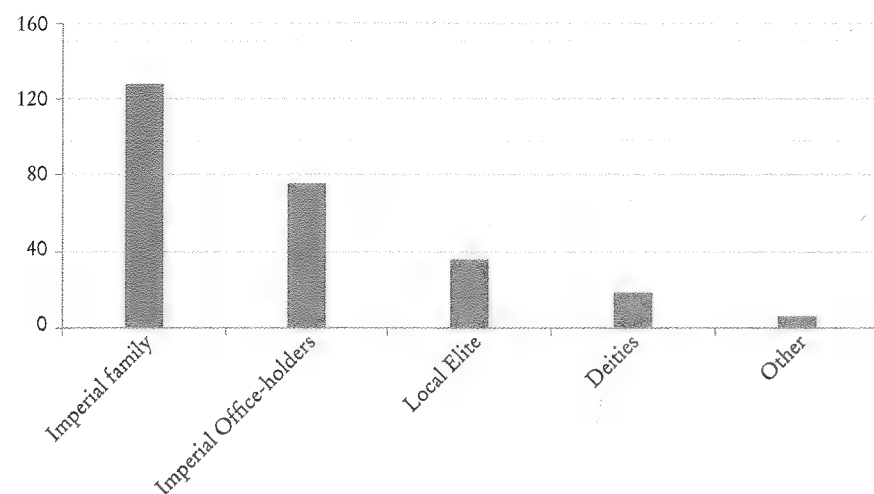


Fig. 8.6 Asia Minor. Categories of honorand recorded on inscribed bases. Total = 265.

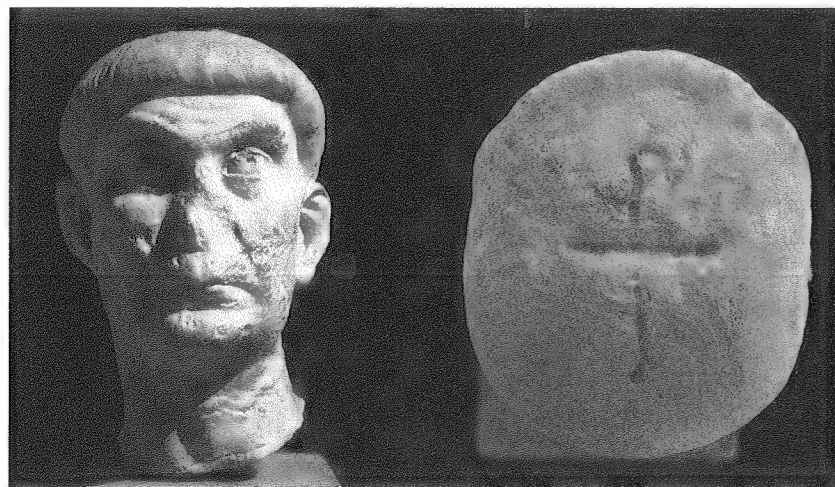


Fig. 8.7 Head of clean-shaven man with staurogram inscribed on top (front of head is at top of photograph). From Side. Later fourth century, LSA 252. Side, Museum, inv. 116. H: 31 cm.

to the end of the fourth or early fifth century; and Anthemius and his son Flavius Anthemius Isidorus belong between 405 and 410.² The chronology and frequency of these Christian markers on

inscribed monuments for the same individuals suggest either that the practice was in vogue at a particular period—that is, the late fourth and early fifth century—or that these people especially wished to be marked.

² It is interesting to note that the base of Oecumenius from Aphrodisias praises his literary qualities with references to the Muses; the base re-erected by Flavius Anthemius Isidorus in Ephesus is for a priest of the high imperial period (LSA 662);

and the base for Scholastica in Ephesus refers to her as *sophēs* (LSA 742).



Fig. 8.8 Three portraits recarved in the late third to fourth century. (a) From Assos, LSA 2521. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Depot 4. H: 41 cm. (b) From Afyon, LSA 297. Bursa, Museum, inv. 200. H: 35.5 cm. (c) From Nicomedia, LSA 298. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4864. H: 35.5 cm.

TETRARCHY TO GRATIAN

In the late third and early fourth century, the cities of Asia Minor, as cities elsewhere, struggled to stay abreast of the fast-changing line of emperors and colleges of emperors. They recut existing imperial portraits to represent new emperors and the tetrarchs. These portraits of earlier emperors were already equipped with appropriate iconography (such as *corona civica* and armour, or nudity) and were of the right scale. The recut portraits make up a coherent and imposing group of bearded emperors devoid of specific physiognomical reference and in a variety of technical styles (Fig. 8.8).³ The similar recut tetrarchic heads on nude or armoured figures from Side and Perge (LSA 244–6 and LSA 2542–4) correspond well with series of bases for

four tetrarchs in, for example, Herakleia Perinthos (LSA 284, 301, 403, and 686), Antioch in Pisidia (LSA 2088–90), and Ephesus (LSA 718–21).

Sometimes the later treatment of the earlier portrait is so slight that its intention remains ambiguous. For example, a large reworked portrait head from Afyon (LSA 297, Fig. 8.8b) wearing a *corona civica* was surely intended to be imperial but might be of any late third-century emperor or even conceivably of Julian. More ambiguous still is a portrait head found in the agora at Assos (LSA 2521, Fig. 8.8a), whose entirely Julian-Claudian aspect is adjusted only by the engraving of a light beard onto its smooth youthful cheeks.

During the tetrarchy there are only a few glimpses of the high-quality sculptural tradition that distinguished Asia Minor workshops in the high imperial period. For example, a well-known bearded portrait of an emperor with *corona civica* from Nicomedia (Fig. 8.8c = LSA 298) has a distinctive, carefully modulated physiognomy that is the result of highly skilful recarving.

³ Typical examples of this group are: LSA 382 and 396 (Basel), LSA 244, 245, and 246 (Side), LSA 2542, 2543, and 2544 (Perge), LSA 464 (New York), and LSA 2354 (art market).

Its provenance from Nicomedia and the presence of two bases for Diocletian there (LSA 628 and 629) are circumstances that might suggest the head represents this emperor.

Some extant portraits belong to the second tetrarchy and early Constantinian period. For example, two colossal heads made after the same portrait type, from Ephesus (LSA 687) and Smyrna (LSA 325), representing a corpulent emperor have been plausibly identified as Licinius, and a head in Leiden from the Istanbul area (LSA 373) is probably a simplified version of the same type.⁴ A full-faced, clean-shaven youth in a *corona civica* (LSA 334) has been identified as his son, Licinius II. One of the younger heirs of Constantine would suit a clean-shaven youth with a *corona civica* and hair with a small parting over the centre of the brow (LSA 440), and a later heir or mid-fourth-century emperor is represented by a young man wearing a pearl-edged diadem (LSA 336). The epigraphic record for imperial honours in the early fourth century in Asia Minor intersects only loosely with the more ragged evidence of the surviving statuary.⁵

After Constantius II and before Theodosius (c. AD 361–83) the imperial portrait image is difficult to assess. The epigraphic record testifies to fourteen statues of Julian, one of Jovian, three of Gratian, and five of Valens.⁶ But apart from two re-used togate statues at Aphrodisias (LSA 196 and 750), little statuary evidence can be shown to belong here.

Among office-holders and local elites, surviving portraits follow an expected pattern. There are declining but still extant honours for local notables, frequent honours for imperial office-holders, and numerous recut portraits of bearded men with short hair that were once mounted on re-used traditional statues. A fourth-century

governor of Caria, one Alexandros (LSA 152 and 153 (Fig. 12.5)), is represented at Aphrodisias in a traditional himation statue; similarly Damocharis, a governor of Asia, is so represented at Ephesus (LSA 727, 728 (Fig. 13.10)). A re-used togate statue from Polybotus in Phrygia Salutaris (LSA 313) with a recut head and crown probably represents a local notable or imperial office-holder. A remarkable statue of a priest from Pompeiopolis (LSA 2112) has a high imperial himation body and a recut head that might date anywhere in the later third or early fourth century, and shows how difficult it is to assess such 'private' portraits. Re-use, however, was not universal in the fourth century: some statues were made *ex novo* in traditional costumes (e.g. LSA 215 and 218).

Alongside the fashion for short beards, there is a series of clean-shaven 'private' male portraits in the second half of the fourth century. A portrait head from the theatre at Hierapolis is a good example (LSA 2502) (Fig. 8.9). It is of a curly-haired, clean-shaven man with sagging cheeks, a

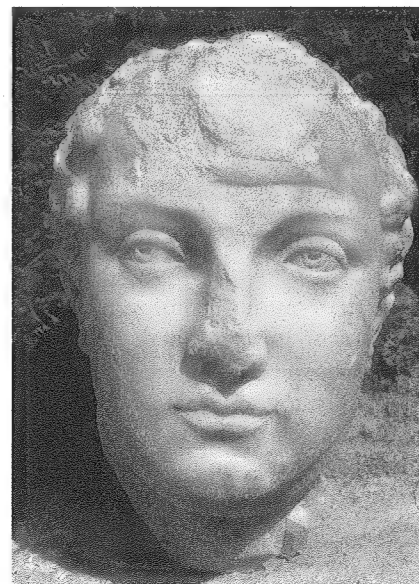


Fig. 8.9 Head of man. From Hierapolis. Mid to later fourth century, LSA 2502. Hierapolis, Museum, inv. T-543 = H56. H: 31.5 cm.

double chin, and pupils drilled out in a heavy crescent shape. Two inscribed bases from the same theatre offer helpful interpretation and possible identifications. They record statues for Cl. Musonianus (LSA 2501), the praetorian prefect of Oriens in 354–8, and for Fl. Magnus (LSA 659), vicar of Asia, in 354–9.

THEODOSIAN PERIOD

The period of Theodosius I, his co-emperor, Valentinian II, and his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, has a significant dated monument, the base of the obelisk in Constantinople, of 390–92. It offers excellent evidence for the fashions of clothing, hair, and beard of the imperial court. The extant statuary record from Asia Minor can be calibrated closely against the figures on the obelisk base. An unusual portrait of a young man from Antioch in Pisidia (LSA 321) even wears the distinctive Germanic hairstyle of the imperial guard seen in the obelisk base. The epigraphic record attests a series of Theodosian family monuments, again often in fours (Side: LSA 276, Aphrodisias: LSA 164, 166, 167, Erythrai: LSA 285).

The Theodosian imperial image is best preserved in the round in the unidentified head from Constantinople (LSA 337 (Fig. 1.22)), and its provincial reception is well attested in two portraits from Aphrodisias—one in a statue of one of the four Theodosian emperors (LSA 163 (Figs 12.4, 23.11)) and one in a statue of Theodosius (LSA 196, Theodosius I or II). The portraits are ageless, wide-eyed, fine-featured, and wear full, straight hair, cut in an even arch across the brow.

In this period, new costumes also appear for the first time in dated statues. Revised forms of the toga, datable to the late fourth century, are attested by the Aphrodisian group dedicated to Theodosius, Valentinian II, Arcadius, and Honorius (LSA 163 (Fig. 12.4)), and can also be seen on the obelisk base. For the Theodosian era, the toga and the chlamys were readily recognizable forms of power and prestige. These costumes

usually required newly carved statues, and had a strong impact in our surviving statuary record.⁷

Both the new statues and the portrait heads of the period display a strong marble-carving skill base. At the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, there is a series of high-quality portraits of bearded men with hair brushed forward onto the brow. In fashion they are comparable to figures on the Theodosian obelisk base and the dated diptych of Fl. Felix of AD 428. The hair on the brow curls over itself or sits in tiers of drilled locks. The backs of the heads are shaped, and they usually feature an indentation at the base of skull, but here the hair is not given the same attention as the face. The pupils of the eyes tend still to follow the form of the second half of the fourth century, and to be full crescent shapes. The realistic-looking heads are mounted on high-specification, mannered bodies. The statue of the governor Oecumenius in a chlamys (LSA 150) (Fig. 1.15) and the bust, again in a chlamys, from Sebastopolis (LSA 2282) are effective examples of this style. A head from Tabai (LSA 445), one from Smyrna (LSA 320), and a bust in the Ortiz collection (LSA 450) certainly all came from similar monuments. At Ephesus there appears to be a particular interest in stylized portrait heads (Figs 13.3 and 23.17).⁸

MID-FIFTH CENTURY

In general, the fifth century was a time of peace and prosperity in the east. A wide range of surviving statuary belongs loosely in the mid-fifth century. Statues and busts could still often be made in one piece of marble. Several complete statues and busts are preserved: for example, LSA 169, 170, 446, and L447 (Fig. 1.9). Still others show traces of drapery around the neck, or pillars at the back of the neck which braced the head on the body. Thus, even if old material was being recycled, so much new carving was being

⁴ Smith (1997).

⁵ e.g. there are only 4 bases for Licinius vs 7 for Galerius, whose wife also appears twice. Constantine and his sons are well represented.

⁶ Julian (14): LSA 197, 265, 290, 514, 517, 550, 613, 635, 645, 713, 748, 2279, 2526, and 2527. Gratian (3): 266, 636, and 2023. Valens (5): LSA 223, 638, 2280, 2281, and 2523.

⁷ On these costumes, see further discussion in Chs 1 (Smith) and 7 (Gehn).

⁸ On this aspect, see Ch. 13 (Avinger and Sokolicek).

undertaken that these works are essentially all made new. Probably most were carved from new marble, but it is worth noting that the statues tend now to be smaller than those of the high imperial period.

The Theodosian-period portraits of full-bearded men with brushed-forward hairstyles seem to be replaced by portraits with more varied hairstyles and physiognomies, in the mid-fifth century, before the distinctive 'mop' hairstyles come into play in the late fifth century. Lack of externally dated examples means that more precision is not possible. Technically these portraits use emphatic forms and deep drill-work to mark the eyes, to give movement to hair, and to present individual physiognomies. Most students and scholars are familiar with two of the best examples: the Older and Younger Governors from Aphrodisias (LSA 169 and 170). Other Aphrodisian portraits of this period present a remarkable range of real-looking physiognomies and individual characteristics (e.g. LSA 174, 181, and 182).

A head from Sardis (LSA 318 (Fig. 1.20), found with fragments of a chlamys statue, is another excellent example. With its full beard and deeply drilled hair, it retains much of the second-century portrait tradition but adds a new intensity. Similarly, a fragmentary portrait from the Agora in Assos (LSA 363), which shows a heavily bearded man, has been dated to the Severan period or to the fifth century; the latter seems more likely to this author (Fig. 8.10). The portrait bust of a man (LSA 447) (Fig. 1.9), found with a female bust, presumably of his wife (LSA 446), from Stratonicea in Caria, is of similar manufacture to the Sardis head and also wears the chlamys of an imperial office-holder. Yet here the honorand has short hair and only a stubble beard. The face shows a hard realism, with lean, lined features and neck. Its virtuoso technique goes beyond the natural and presents a strongly animated presence.⁹

⁹ Şahin (2010: 66) has suggested that the Stratonicea busts, LSA 446 and 447, should be associated with an architrave that

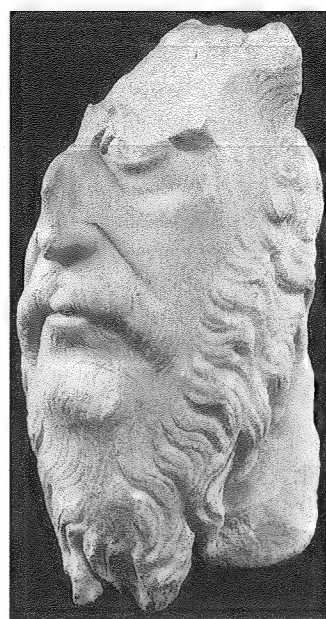


Fig. 8.10 Head of man with long beard. From Assos. Fifth century, LSA 363. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 84.65. H: 28.7 cm.

There are also some inscribed bases which are securely dated in the mid-fifth century, by the prominence of the honorands. These include inscribed bases for Zeno, master of the soldiery, in 447–51 (LSA 639, from Sagalassus); for the praetorian prefect Flavius Constantinus of 457 (LSA 525, from Laodicea); for the praetorian prefect Epinicus and his wife in 475–8 (LSA 667 and 668, from Metropolis). Dulcitus, one of the last *praesides* of Caria (LSA 225, from Aphrodisias), also falls into this period.

LATE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURY

The end of the fifth century and the greater part of the sixth century are marked by the reigns of Anastasius (491–518) and Justinian (527–65).

honours Apollinarius (LSA 2081) and which can be dated to the 2nd half of the 5th c.

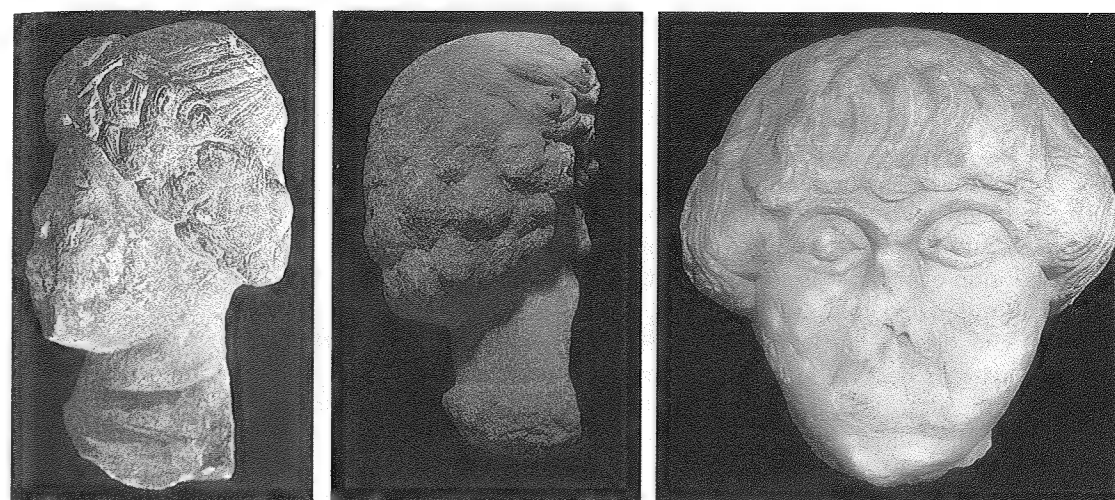


Fig. 8.11 Male portrait heads of early sixth century. (a) From Sardis, exc. inv. S 66.24 7246. H: 39 cm, LSA 1098. (b) From Metropolis, exc. inv. HY.09-15. H: 35 cm, LSA 2304. (c) From Bayramiç, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2061. H: 21 cm, LSA 412.

A smaller number of still remarkable monuments belong in this period.

The honorific monument of Pytheas at Aphrodisias (LSA 147 and LSA 148), well-dated to the end of the fifth century, provides evidence for some new features. Pytheas is probably to be associated with the philosopher Asclepiodotus, active at Aphrodisias in the 480s. His portrait shows a clean-shaven face and a hairstyle in three tiers of thick irregular curls around the sides and back of the head. This is probably a variant on the distinctive 'mop' hairstyle, but Pytheas' ears remain fully visible.

The consular diptychs of the earlier sixth century provide abundant dated examples of the 'mop' hairstyle fashion: for example, Aerobindus (Constantinople, AD 506), Clementinus (Constantinople, AD 513), Orestes (Rome, AD 530), and Apion (Constantinople, AD 539).¹⁰ The mosaic panel on the left side of the choir in San Vitale in Ravenna shows Justinian flanked by three *chlamydatus* with this hairstyle. The monument of Flavius Palmatus (LSA 198 and 199,

from Aphrodisias) shows him with a fuller 'mop' hairstyle and a stubble beard (Fig. 1.10). He was a consular governor of Caria, rather than a *praeses*, in probably the late fifth or early sixth century (certainly before 535, when the post of vicar of Asiana that he held was abolished).

These two dated monuments carry with them a series of similarly styled portraits, from Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Sardis, and three other sites (Fig. 8.11).¹¹ Six can be associated with the toga, the mark of the highest senatorial order (LSA 147, 198, 697, 698, 707, and 1098). It is interesting that five of these monuments seem to be put together from various elements recycled from earlier late antique statues.¹² Monuments of the late fourth and earlier fifth centuries seem already to have been available for re-use in the late fifth century. Palmatus' portrait head, for example, was both

¹¹ Aphrodisias (6): LSA 147, 173, 177, 179, 198, and 219. Ephesus (5): LSA 694, 696, 697, 698, and 707. Sardis (2): LSA 413 and 1098. Hellespontus (1): LSA 412. Laodicea (1): LSA 385. Metropolis (1): LSA 2304. There are two further unpublished examples from Aphrodisias.

¹² LSA 173, 177, 198, 698, and 1098. Another example, which probably belongs late, is a late antique togate statue at Ephesus, no earlier than c.400, which has been recut to be used as a bust: LSA 1096.

¹⁰ Volbach (1976: nos. 8–13 (Aerobindus), nos. 14–15 (Clementinus), and no. 32 (Apion)).

reworked from an earlier head and separately attached to a togate statue of c. AD 400 (Fig. 12.6). The base of Palmatus' statue consists of an unusual build-up of one and a half re-used statue bases.

A similar togate statue from Ephesus (LSA 698) was found with a base for one Stephanus (LSA 732), and presents a controversial puzzle. The inscription of the base is comparable to that of Fl. Isidorus dated to c.420 (LSA 729, from Ephesus) and begins with a cross—details that suggest a date in the late fourth or early fifth century for the inscribed base and for Stephanus, who was also honoured in an inscription on the Library of Celsus (LSA 487). The portrait head, however, wears a later 'mop' hairstyle and has been awkwardly recut from an earlier and larger head; it probably belongs to the sixth century (Fig. 13.7). It is fitted onto the statue without a tenon: the bottom of the neck is flat and dowelled to the body—a distinctively late technique.¹³ In

¹³ See discussion of this late antique technique in Ch. 1 (Smith). This same technique was used at Aphrodisias to attach LSA 173 to its body. The limestone head from Sardis (LSA 1098) and the fragment from Metropolis (LSA 2304) were also

other words, a base of around 400 carries a fifth-century statue, with a later-added head, itself reworked out of an earlier and larger portrait head. Most likely, this statuary confection honoured a contemporary sixth-century figure (to us nameless) whose inscription was painted on plaster that obliterated the original honour for Stephanus.¹⁴

CONCLUSION

The surviving marble portrait heads and statues from Asia Minor are as a group by far the most accomplished of late antiquity. The imperial capital at Constantinople and the leading provincial capitals at Ephesus and Aphrodisias provide such crucial evidence for the whole late antique statue habit that they are discussed more fully in their own chapters—Chapters 11 (Gehn and Ward-Perkins), 12 (Smith), and 13 (Auinger and Sokolicek).

worked separately and added to extant statues. In both these cases, however, the bottom of the neck has a short tenon.

¹⁴ Discussed also in Ch. 13 (Auinger and Sokolicek).

CHAPTER 9

Egypt, the Near East, and Cyprus

Ulrich Gehn and Bryan Ward-Perkins

INTRODUCTION

Egypt, the Near East, and Cyprus constituted almost the whole of the late antique diocese of Oriens (Fig. 9.1).¹ Egypt had always played an important role in the economy of the Roman empire, and in late antiquity it gained additional importance as the main grain supplier for Constantinople. The northern region of Oriens, with the fertile provinces of Syria, was also central to imperial politics, and during the fourth century often saw the presence of the emperor, as he prepared for campaigns against Persia. The diocese, however, had never been rich in honorific statuary, if compared to central North Africa, Italy, Asia Minor, or the Greek mainland, and this did not change in late antiquity. Oriens belongs to the 'poor' regions of the late antique statue habit: the LSA database includes only 47 entries for Egypt (24 bases, 20 items of statuary, and 3 literary attestations), and 71 for the Near East with Cyprus (38 bases, 15 items of statuary, and 18 literary attestations).² It is now firmly established that the late antique period was one of general prosperity in Oriens; so the absence of statuary in this diocese is clear proof, if proof

were needed, that there was no necessary correlation between urban prosperity and an intensive statue habit.

EGYPT

The most striking aspect of the Egyptian evidence is its concentration in the tetrarchic period and its almost complete absence after Constantine's death. A revival of the statue habit, much reduced in scale, is observable in the Theodosian period (Fig. 9.2.)

Of the inscribed statue bases, the bulk is concentrated in the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods (more than 75 per cent of the total), with more than twice as many inscriptions from the tetrarchic as from the Constantinian period, and with all but one of the total being dedications to emperors. Inscriptions are concentrated in two locations. Alexandria, the provincial capital of Aegyptus, has eight inscriptions and three literary references to statues;³ and the military camp at Thebae (modern Luxor) in the Thebais has perhaps as many as thirteen (Fig. 9.3).⁴ The camp, built into the temple of Ammon, was one of the forts built by Diocletian to ensure the

¹ We have excluded only the provinces of Isauria and Cilicia I and II, which are considered with Asia Minor: Ch. 8 (Lenaghan).

² In our graphs, the literary attestations are counted with the epigraphic evidence.

³ Eight inscriptions: LSA 870–874, 1146, 2672, 2702. Literary references: LSA 479, 2699, 2754.

⁴ Eight on two tetrastyla: LSA 2621–4 and 2625–8. Plus five: LSA 1179, 1180, 2629–31.

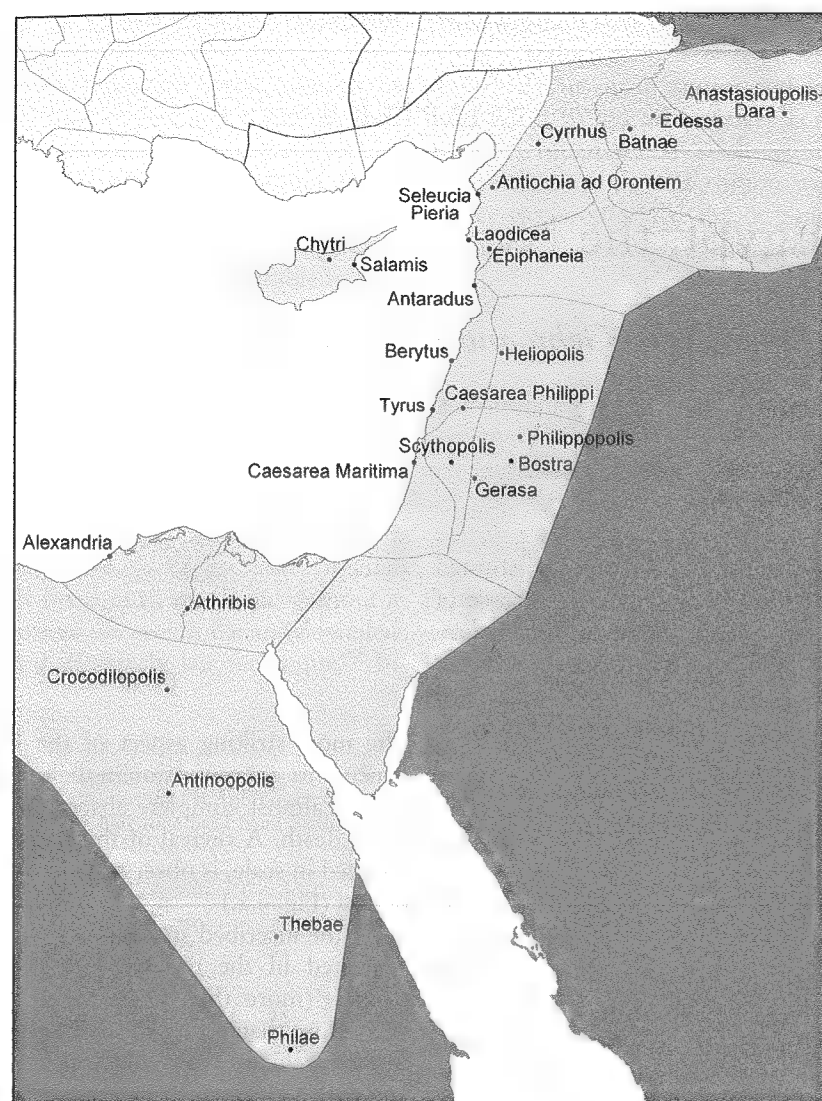


Fig. 9.1 Egypt, Near East, and Cyprus. Cities with evidence for statue honours in late antiquity.

security of the southeastern part of the empire.⁵ In the late third century, Egypt was threatened from the south by the barbarian tribes of the Blemmyi.⁶ But even more serious was the revolt provoked by the harsh taxation of tetrarchic

⁵ The high walls surrounding the sanctuary were incorporated into the camp's walls, and the central axis was used as the *via praetoria*: Deckers (1973: 4).

⁶ Hübner (1952: 4–6).

times. The centre of this upheaval was Koptos, immediately north of Thebae, which was sacked in 296.⁷ The security of the Thebais required the deployment of considerable numbers of troops, which almost certainly explains the building of the camp at Thebae. That the camp was then decorated with as many as thirteen statues of the

⁷ Deckers (1973: 3); Seston (1946: 137–9).

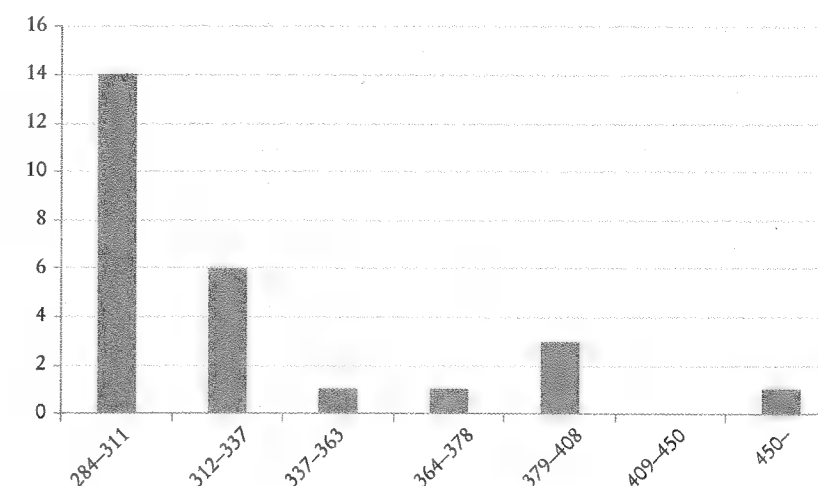


Fig. 9.2 Egypt. Dated statue bases and textual references. Total = 26.

emperors is something striking and exceptional. Honorific statuary of the third and fourth centuries remained, as it had always been, an essentially urban civic, and not a military, phenomenon. In the principal military zones of the Rhine–Danube and Mesopotamian frontiers, there are few imperial statues and nothing to match the concentration of honours that we find at Egyptian Thebae. There is no obvious explanation for this extraordinary display of imperial statues. As with other concentrations, it shows that individual initiative could cut across broad patterns of normal practice within the statue habit.

Close to the two main entrances of the camp, tetrastyla were set up—four-columned monuments crowned by statues of the emperors of the first and the second tetrarchies—which yield eight of our inscriptions (LSA 2625–8, dated 300–302; LSA 2621–4, dated 308–310). Closely associated in location and date with the first tetrastylon were two further statues, erected by the *rationalis* Valerius Euethius to Galerius (LSA 2629) and Constantius I (LSA 2631). These inscriptions were both found in the area west of the court of Ramses II.⁸ Further dedications, by

the military commander (*dux*) Valerius Rometalca to Constantine (LSA 1180, 2630, and possibly 1179), were set up on the central axis of the camp in the hypostyle hall immediately in front of the *sacellum* (the room for the imperial cult).⁹

The statues to the emperors of the first tetrarchy in Thebae (LSA 2625–8) were erected in 300–302 by the governor of the Thebais, Aurelius Reginus. It was also a governor, in this case of Aegyptus, Aelius Publius, who set up the prominent porphyry column to Diocletian in Alexandria at roughly the same time (297–302, LSA 874). Only a few years later, however, the tetrastylon to the later tetrarchs (LSA 2621–4) was erected by a military man, the *dux* of the Egyptian and Libyan provinces, Aurelius Maximinus. The initiative of the provincial governors in setting up imperial statues in the earlier tetrarchic period is readily explained as a statement of loyalty following the provincial reorganization of Egypt in the last decade of the third century.¹⁰ The later evidence, however, testifies to the growing influence of the military commander in this disturbed region in the early fourth century. The office of *dux Aegyptiarum* was introduced probably only

⁸ For a plan of the area: Fig. 9.3.

⁹ LSA 1180 was found in situ; LSA 2630 was close by.

¹⁰ CAH XII, 316–17.

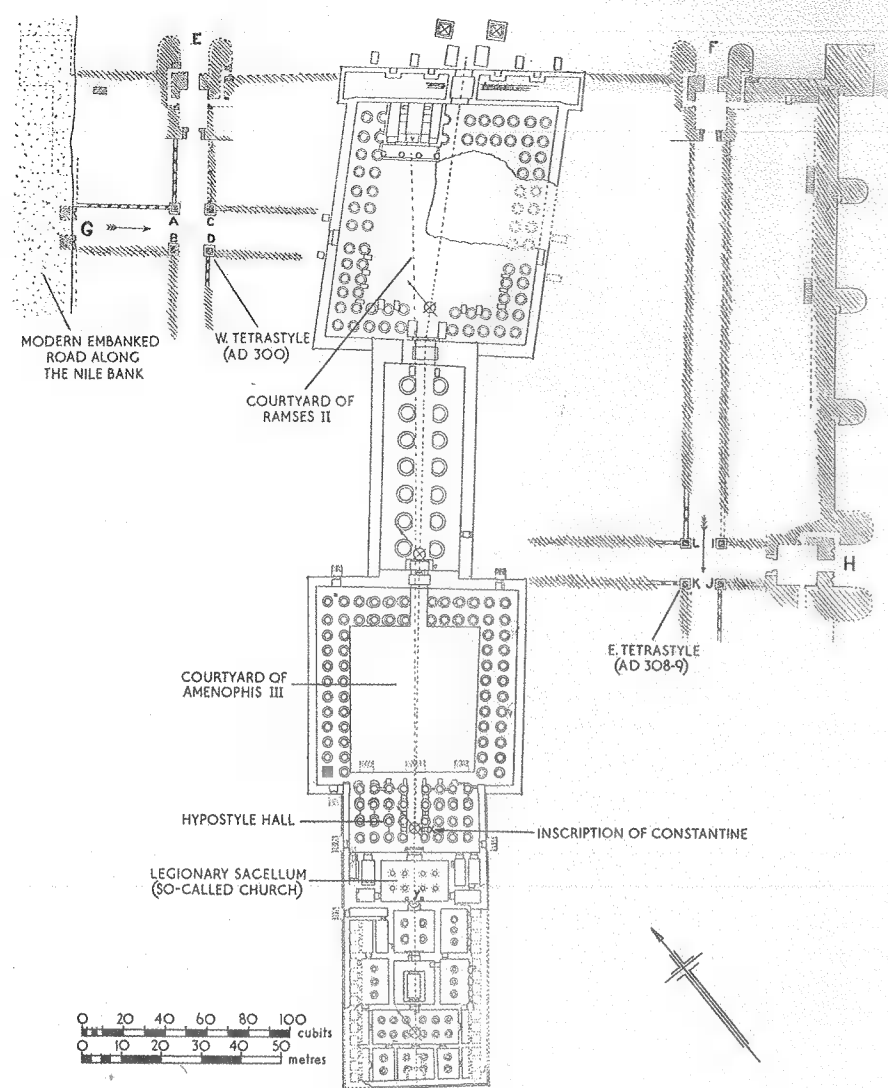


Fig. 9.3 Luxor (Thebes). Plan of New Kingdom temple complex with Roman camp.

then, early in the fourth century: our inscriptions from 308–10 are its earliest attestations. A further *dux* later dedicated the three statues to Constantine I in Thebes (LSA 1179, 1180, and 2630).¹¹

¹¹ Probably all set up by Valerius Rometalca (PLRE I, 770 Val. Rometalca), whose name however is preserved only on

The dedications to emperors by *rationales*, high-ranking financial officials introduced under the tetrarchy to improve the efficiency of taxation, are a further exceptional feature of the Egyptian material. They are clear evidence of

LSA 1180 and 2630. A further possible statue dedication by a *dux* to Constantine: LSA 2702.

Egypt's importance within the fiscal system.¹² In addition to Valerius Euthius, the *rationalis Aegypti* who set up statues to Galerius and Constantius I in the camp at Thebes in 302–4, another *rationalis*, Arrius Diotimus, honoured Constantine with a statue in Alexandria around 314 (LSA 870). Similarly, in Alexandria, a statue was set up for Constantine by a high-ranking underling of the *rationalis*, the *magister privatarum Aegypti et Libyae*, Valerius Epifanius (LSA 871). A *rationalis Aegypti*, Aurelius Sabinianus, was himself even awarded a statue in Alexandria in the later third century (LSA 1146). It is the only statue honour for a non-imperial individual recorded from the later third and earlier fourth centuries, and one of only three dedications to imperial office-holders from the region in the whole of late antiquity. There are three known statue honours initiated by a *rationalis* in Asia Minor, but only in Egypt, Rome, and, more surprisingly, western North Africa are there concentrations.¹³ All are from the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods.

After disappearing almost completely in the mid-fourth century, the Egyptian evidence returns in much-reduced numbers towards the end of the century: there are four bases. Two are for imperial office-holders (LSA 872 and 877) and two for emperors (LSA 2672 at Alexandria for Valentinian I, and LSA 876 at Antinoopolis for the Theodosian emperors in 388–90). The monuments of the office-holders equal, or may even have surpassed, the imperial ones in material and splendour: LSA 872, for the praetorian prefect Maternus Cynegius, was a bronze togate statue (*civili habitu*), and LSA 877, for the governor of the Thebais, Flavius Ulpus Erythrius, was of gilded bronze. Both inscriptions

are highly idiosyncratic and underline the exceptional nature of the honours. They both refer to the imperial permission needed for bronze statues, which was in this period required by law but which also enhanced the status of the honour.¹⁴ As elsewhere in the empire, praetorian prefects make an appearance in the inscribed statue bases of the period: besides Maternus Cynegius, who received the bronze togate statue mentioned above, it was another prefect under Theodosius I, Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, who set up the imperial statue group at Antinoopolis (LSA 876).¹⁵

Although the literary language of Egypt was Greek, the statue inscriptions of the tetrarchy are almost all in 'official' Latin. The inscriptions, however, often follow the Greek tradition of using the accusative case, rather than the dative, for the honorand (LSA 2672 and all the Luxor inscriptions). The tetrarchic porphyry column in Alexandria (LSA 874) exceptionally bears a Greek inscription, and by the Theodosian period, Greek was as common as Latin for late imperial statue dedications. Egypt was a markedly 'imperial' region. Thirty-three of our forty-seven inscriptions, texts, and statues (70 per cent) relate to imperial statuary. This is a clear indication of a region where 'civic' traditions of awarding statues had never taken root, and it is indeed striking that almost all of the statues in late antique Egypt were set up by the initiative of imperial office-holders (governors, *duces*, and *rationales*) and not by cities and their institutions. This is in marked contrast to a region such as central North Africa, where most statue honours, whether to emperors or others, were awarded by the cities in which they stood.

Egypt was the source of porphyry, a favoured material for late antique imperial portraiture and a stone denied to lesser honorands. The region has provided a rich body of porphyry sculpture, the most of any of our broad regions, and all of it

¹² On the *comes et rationalis summarum Aegypti*: Jones (1964: 428). On their introduction in Egypt: CAH XII, 319.

¹³ Asia Minor: LSA 628 and 630 (both Nicomedia), and 715 (Ephesus), all set up by the same *rationalis* for Diocletian. Rome: LSA 1257–60, 1265, 1405, 1519, and 1539. The 5 statue dedications from North Africa were all made by 2 *rationales* of Numidia and the Mauretania, and all to Constantine: LSA 2228, 2232, and 2233 (all Cirta); LSA 2244 and 2246 (both Cuicul).

¹⁴ On the law: Premierstein (1912); Feissel (1984).

¹⁵ The same Tatianus set up another group to the Theodosian emperors in Aphrodisias (LSA 163–7) and an inscription to the same emperors in Side (LSA 267). Like other individuals who appear in our evidence, this Tatianus was clearly closely attached to the statue habit.



Fig. 9.4 Under-life-size porphyry statue in chlamys. From Alexandria. Fourth century, LSA 1007. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. H: 94 cm.

presumably imperial: LSA 836, 1003, 1005, 1007 (Fig. 9.4), 1008, 1009, 1051, 2425, 2561, and 2673. Porphyry sculpture makes up 50 per cent of the sculptural evidence from Egypt and constitutes most of the imperial sculpture from the region.¹⁶

A date in the late third or earlier fourth century has traditionally been assumed for most late antique porphyry sculpture, because the quarries on the Mons Porphyrites were thought to have closed by the middle of the fourth century.¹⁷

¹⁶ Potential imperial sculpture not in porphyry includes: LSA 846, a limestone bust, probably not an emperor; LSA 876 with marble fragments found nearby; LSA 1028, an imperial bronze head of dubious authenticity; LSA 2699, a literary reference to a colossal bronze statue of Julian.

¹⁷ Mons Porphyrites: Delbrueck (1932: 24–30); Lucci (1964: 252–70); Klein (1988: 107–11).

This view has recently been challenged by M. Bergmann, who has identified a classicizing trend dependent on Constantinopolitan court style of the later fourth century for some of the Egyptian porphyries: LSA 1007 (Fig. 9.4), 1010, 1011, and 1185. In Egypt, as in Rome and Constantinople (and unlike the Balkan region), at least some of the imperial porphyry sculpture was displayed in public spaces. Most famously, the granite column in Alexandria honouring Diocletian (and now known as the 'column of Pompey', LSA 874) once bore a porphyry statue (LSA 1005), while the porphyry *chlamydatus* now in Berlin (LSA 1007) (Fig. 9.4) and the porphyry plinth with military boots (*campagi*, LSA 2561) were both found in one of Alexandria's baths.¹⁸

Marble was necessarily an imported material in Egypt, and the only statues in honour of emperors in this material are those of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius set up by Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus at Antinoopolis (LSA 876). For bronze, the only evidence is the literary attestation of a bronze statue of Julian set up in Alexandria (LSA 2699).¹⁹

Three marble togate statues in our database have usually been dated to late antiquity (LSA 1663, 2129, and 2130). In our view, however, none of them need be dated later than the mid-third century, and one of them should certainly be dated to the second century by its toga form (LSA 2129). The statue inscription for the praetorian prefect Maternus Cynegius, set up in Alexandria in 384–7 (LSA 872), however, states explicitly that the statue was to be *civili habitu*—that is, in a toga. This may have been a tacit rejection of the chlamys (then increasingly popular for imperial office-holders) and an embrace of old-fashioned civic virtues.²⁰

¹⁸ An inscribed base to Valentinian I or Valentinian II (LSA 2672) was found in the same area.

¹⁹ Further bronze statues in Egypt: LSA 872 and 877, respectively to a praetorian prefect and a governor. The bronze head LSA 1028 is widely considered a forgery.

²⁰ The same phrase occurs on bases of an earlier date, before the chlamys became a widespread statue costume: LSA 1368 (AD 312–37), 1684 (AD 333), 1190 (AD 344).

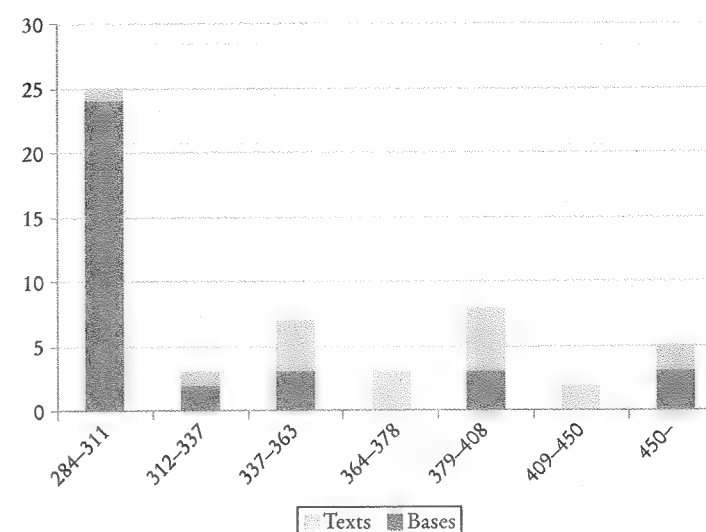


Fig. 9.5 Near East. Dated bases and textual evidence for statue honours by imperial dynasty. Total = 53.

LSA 2101 is the only statue dressed in a himation from the region. It was found apparently in a funerary context and has been dated to the fourth century mainly on a stylistic assessment of the portrait head. With few honours recorded for local notables, who might most naturally wear the himation costume in such monuments, the lack of himation statues is not difficult to explain. Cities and civic institutions, as we have seen, are indeed almost completely absent in the epigraphic evidence from Egypt.²¹ The only exception is an inscribed honour for a financial procurator, Aurelius Sabinianus, set up in Alexandria by the *hypomnematographus*, Aurelius Nemesius, probably in the tetrarchic period (LSA 1146).²² Women are absent in the epigraphic record of inscribed honours. The rare pieces of female sculpture (LSA 1560, 1561, and 1664) were probably, as elsewhere, displayed in a

private context. One of these (LSA 1664) is indeed a bust, best suited to private display.

THE NEAR EAST, WITH CYPRUS

The near eastern provinces, including Cyprus, are represented by 71 entries (38 bases, 18 texts, and 15 sculptures) in our database. As Egypt, the Near East had never been a major area for honorific statuary, and in late antiquity this did not change, despite the undoubted prosperity of the region and its cities.²³

Fig. 9.5 shows a decline in the evidence from the tetrarchic period to the period of Constantine and his sons. Although the total numbers are small, the decline more or less agrees with the empire-wide picture; the later fourth century is then almost without inscribed bases. Literary evidence testifies to a rich collection of imperial

²¹ Alexandria was granted the right to have a *boule* only under Septimius Severus, 'at a time when the municipal institutions had completely lost their value' (Bonacasa 1987: 323. See also CAH XII, 318).

²² The office of *hypomnematographus* was a prestigious civic office in Alexandria concerned with the control of the city's population (Whitehorne 1987).

²³ Cabouret (2007: 323–4); Cabouret (p. 332 n. 56) points out that inscriptions referring to euergetism (including building inscriptions) are generally scarce, compared, e.g. to Africa, though generous euergetism is documented in literary sources.

statuary in Antioch, to Julian and to emperors of the Valentinianic and Theodosian dynasties. After 400, the evidence becomes thin, and much of it is difficult to date or to interpret.²⁴ There is, however, an inscription of 400–404 for a gilded bronze statue of the empress Eudoxia at Scythopolis (LSA 2836), and one indisputable sixth-century statue inscription to Justinian at Cyrrhus (LSA 2636). The latter is the only inscribed honour from the remote province of Euphratensis. It is explicitly linked to fortification work carried out by the emperor, and reflects a new environment for statue dedications, now in a military context. Another statue of Justinian erected in a provincial city, Pisidian Antioch (LSA 365), was also in gratitude for fortification work.²⁵

The surviving statuary is thin and generally of a different profile from that of the epigraphic evidence. There are few pieces datable to tetrarchic times (Fig. 9.6), but a group of portraits can be dated with reasonable confidence on the grounds of style and costume to the late fourth to early fifth century: LSA 568, 665, 754 (Fig. 9.7), 869, 981, 2113, and 2114. The female head LSA 665 wears a central-braid hairstyle, fashionable in the late third and again in the late fourth to early fifth century. Its jewelled diadem (?) suggests a date in the later period. Similar stylistic and typological features are displayed by the small imperial portrait statue from Cyprus, LSA 568, formerly identified as Helena, but now better dated to the late fourth or early fifth century (Fig. 20.8). Its small size (height 78 cm) and high-quality finish show the figure was probably displayed in a roofed context. An imperial head from Batna in Syria (LSA 754) has been usually attributed to the Constantinian dynasty, but the arrangement of the hair into long parallel strands, the uniform edge of the fringe, and its oval shape suggest a Theodosian date (Fig. 9.7). A close

²⁴ e.g. the statue base to Elias in Epiphaneia (LSA 878), an inscription set up by a lawyer 'Patricius' in Berytus (LSA 1153), and a late literary testimony (LSA 484).

²⁵ Other inscribed statue honours possibly or likely for Justinian: LSA 231 (Aphrodisias) and 945 (Samothece).



Fig. 9.6 Head of emperor wearing *corona civica*. From Philippopolis. Later third century, LSA 2312. Shahba, Museum. H: 31.5 cm.

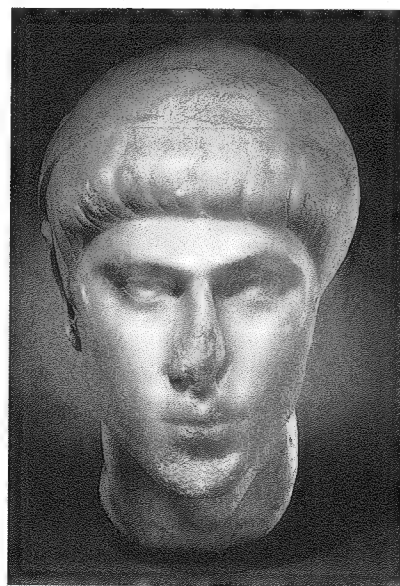


Fig. 9.7 Head of Theodosian emperor. From Batna (Syria). Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 754. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. H: 29 cm.

parallel is provided by the young Theodosian emperor from Aphrodisias (LSA 163 (Figs 12.4 and 23.11)).²⁶ Securely datable to the late fourth or early fifth century is the portrait head of Oecumenius from Salamis in Cyprus (LSA 869), a replica of the portrait of the governor of Caria in Aphrodisias (LSA 150 and 151).²⁷ An interesting statue of a man in a short chlamys and holding a sword from Caesarea Maritima (LSA 2839) probably dates to the same period or shortly thereafter (Fig. 9.8).

Among honorands, emperors prevail, with imperial office-holders the only other significant category. Most of the imperial honours, even more so than in Egypt, are tetrarchic: of the twenty-six recorded inscriptions for members of the imperial family, no fewer than twenty-one are for tetrarchs.²⁸ The almost complete disappearance of imperial statue honours after the tetrarchy is remarkable, and more extreme than in any other region of the empire. A possible base for Constantius Gallus at Bostra in Arabia (LSA 1149), an inscription for Constantius II and Constans at Salamis (LSA 2018), the base for Julian also at Salamis (LSA 868), the base for Eudoxia at Scythopolis (LSA 2836), and the base for Justinian at Cyrrhus in Euphratensis (LSA 2636) are the only inscribed imperial honours we know of from after 312. Only for Antioch, and here from literary records, do we have evidence of new imperial statuary being erected in quantity well into the Theodosian period.²⁹

As in Egypt, and unlike in other regions, imperial office-holders (mostly provincial governors) were the main dedicators of these statues for emperors. The paltry evidence for cities and their officials making such dedications is

²⁶ A Theodosian date was first suggested by Stichel (1982), who also compared it to LSA 163 and suggested Arcadius or Valentinian II as the subject. The ageless youth of the face, however, does not necessarily point to a youth or young man. Other emperors remain possible.

²⁷ The impressive marble head from Antardus in Syria, LSA 763, in our view is not of the early 5th c. but Antonine. See discussion and references in LSA 763.

²⁸ LSA 14, 864–7, 1090, 1100, 1105–7, 1147, 1150, 1152, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2083, 2094, and 2618–20.

²⁹ LSA 2700, 2709–11, 2725–8, 2742, and 2743.



Fig. 9.8 Statue of man in short chlamys with sword. From Caesarea Maritima. Fourth to fifth century, LSA 2839. Kibbutz Sdot-Yam, Archaeological Museum, inv. IAA 92–658. H: 177.5 cm.

striking.³⁰ Governors erected imperial statues, not only in their provincial capitals³¹ but also in other cities: in Arabia, there are six from Gerasa and two from Bostra (neither of them provincial capitals), all erected by governors or, in the case of one at Bostra, by a military commander.³² The

³⁰ The only certain inscribed honours for emperors by cities are LSA 1147 (Heliopolis, in Phoenice Libanensis, to Galerius), 2018 (the inscription at Salamis, to Constantius II and Constans), and 2636 (the base at Cyrrhus, to Justinian).

³¹ At Salamis in Cyprus (LSA 864–7 and 2017–20), and at Caesarea Maritima in Palaestina Prima (LSA 1090, 1100, 1105–7).

³² Gerasa, the work of four different governors: Domitius Antoninus (LSA 14 and 2618); Aurelius Felicianus (LSA 2083 and 2094); Aurelius Gorgonius (LSA 2619); Aurelius Antiochus (LSA 2620). Bostra: LSA 1150 (set up by a governor) and 1149 (set up by a *dux*).

examples at Gerasa include statue inscriptions to tetrarchs on the so-called 'South Tetrastylon' (LSA 2083 and 2094, datable to 293–305). While earlier scholarship dated the basic structure of this monument to the second century, with the tetrarchic inscriptions and statues as secondary additions, Thiel has argued that our inscriptions formed an original part of the building.³³ He suggested, moreover, that tetrastyla (which are present in many cities of the Near East, and generally dated to the second or third centuries) were an invention of the tetrarchic period as an appropriate and effective way to spread the ideology of rule by four emperors. This hypothesis is given strong support by the tetrarchic tetrastyla and statues in the military camp at Thebae (LSA 2621–8).³⁴

Imperial office-holders constitute the only other category of honorand to receive a significant number of statues (eight), and in these cases, the cities themselves were often the dedicating bodies. It was the councillors (*ordo*) of Berytus that erected a bronze statue to the praetorian prefect of the East of 340–344 and consul of 344, Flavius Domitius Leontius (LSA 1190).³⁵ Leontius was probably a native of the city, and the inscription tells us that he was represented *civili habitu* (in a toga). As with the statue in Alexandria of the praetorian prefect, Maternus Cynegius, discussed above (LSA 872), this choice of costume may have been made to emphasize Leontius' civic virtues, alongside the imperial offices so proudly listed in the inscription.

Provincial governors were honoured in two dedications from Bostra in the province of Arabia: one (LSA 1151) was set up by Bostra, a straightforward case of a city declaring its loyalty and gratitude; the motivation for the other (LSA 1148) is less obvious, since it was erected to the governor of a neighbouring province by one of

his officials. In Caesarea Maritima, there are two verse inscriptions in Greek for statues of office-holders, one of them of gilded bronze (LSA 11 and 12). In neither case is the precise office of the honorand recorded, but since Caesarea was the provincial capital of Palaestina Prima, it is likely that they were governors.

The statue bases from Caesarea are distinctive: the two to imperial office-holders (LSA 11 and 12) as well as five to emperors of the tetrarchic period (LSA 1090, 1100, and 1105–7) are columnar bases of granite or marble. Caesarea had its own long-established tradition of honorific statues on columnar bases.³⁶ The use of language on these bases is more familiar but also interesting: following a common practice in the eastern empire, the inscriptions to emperors are in prose and in 'official' Latin, but the two honouring office-holders are in verse and in Greek.

From the minor Cypriot city of Chytroi comes a remarkable statue base, LSA 863, which once bore a gilded bronze statue of Flavius Philippus, praetorian prefect of the East in 344–51. Philippus, who died while imprisoned by Magnentius, the rival of Constantius II, was posthumously awarded gilded statues 'in the leading cities' of the empire (*in opimis urbibus*) by a decree of the same Constantius (LSA 862). Our base is the only evidence for this decree being put into practice, and it is a mystery as to why it comes from Chytroi.³⁷ There is no reason to suppose that vast, uncontrollable bodies of inscribed evidence have disappeared without trace. The decree is marked by typical late antique hyperbole, and it was probably not more than an invitation to those 'best cities' who wished to do so, to erect a statue of Philippus. Chytroi we may suppose had particular reason to seek imperial favour in the early 350s, or perhaps, more likely, the city had special reason to be grateful to the great praetorian prefect.

Cities

³³ Thiel (2002).

³⁴ Thiel (2006). Thiel's suggestions are attractive but remain hypothetical and are not systematically included in our database. See further, LSA 2832 at Arae Philaenorum in Tripolitania.

³⁵ The inscription includes an early reference to the imperial permission needed for a bronze statue.

³⁶ This tradition is documented from at least the Hadrianic period: *CIIP* II, no. 1227.

³⁷ The existence of an inscribed version of Constantius' decree at Ephesus (LSA 862) suggests, but does not prove, that there too a statue was erected for Philippus.

Rome

Carlos Machado with Julia Lenaghan

No other city in the entire late antique Mediterranean housed as splendid a collection of statuary as Rome. Since the time of the Republic, Romans had commissioned, purchased, and taken as booty a vast array of sculpture, constituting what Cassiodorus called, in the sixth century, 'a most abundant population of statues' (*populus copiosissimus statuarum*).^{1,2} The practice of setting up statues, be it for the celebration of important individuals or for the decoration of public spaces, continued well into the late antique period, reflecting the cultural and political conservatism of the city's elites. At the same time, Rome's statue habit underwent important changes, in terms both of the number of statues dedicated and of the types of dedications made. The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of Rome's last statues, characterizing the statue habit in terms both of its continuities and of discontinuities. The cases of Ostia and Portus will also be briefly considered, as these two cities were intimately connected to the economic, social, and political life of the *urbs*. Although it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of material available in such a small space, it is possible to discuss the main elements and

trends that developed between the accession of Diocletian and the last known dedication of a statue in Rome, in 608 to Phocas (LSA 1313).³

THE STATUE HABIT IN LATE
ANTIQUE ROME

By the end of the third century the streets, public squares, and houses of Rome were important repositories of sculpture. As shown by the evidence collected for the 'Last Statues of Antiquity' project, Romans continued to set them up in the following centuries in remarkable numbers. We have evidence for the setting up in Rome of more than 435 statues—inscribed bases, items of surviving statuary, and references in texts.⁴ This represents an average of 1.3 monuments dedicated per year between 284 and 608. This figure might be low by early imperial standards,⁵ but it is much higher than for any other late antique city. In Aphrodisias, for example, a total of 104 items (bases and statuary) are datable to this

¹ The main part of the chapter, based primarily on the epigraphic evidence, is by Machado. The last part, on the surviving statuary, is by Lenaghan.

² Cassiodorus, *Variae* 7.13. See Edwards (2003) for the relationship between empire-building and statuary; Stewart (2003: 115–56) discusses Rome's 'population of statues', with special emphasis on the early empire.

³ A much fuller discussion of the Roman material is currently being prepared by Machado. For useful recent overviews of the Roman statue habit, which however do not incorporate the results of the LSA project, see Chenault (2012) and Weisweiler (2012).

⁴ At the time of publication, the numbers for Rome (city) were: 351 bases, 74 statues, 11 literary records; for Rome (region): 374 bases, 103 statues, 12 literary records.

⁵ See the considerations of Smith (1985: 217).

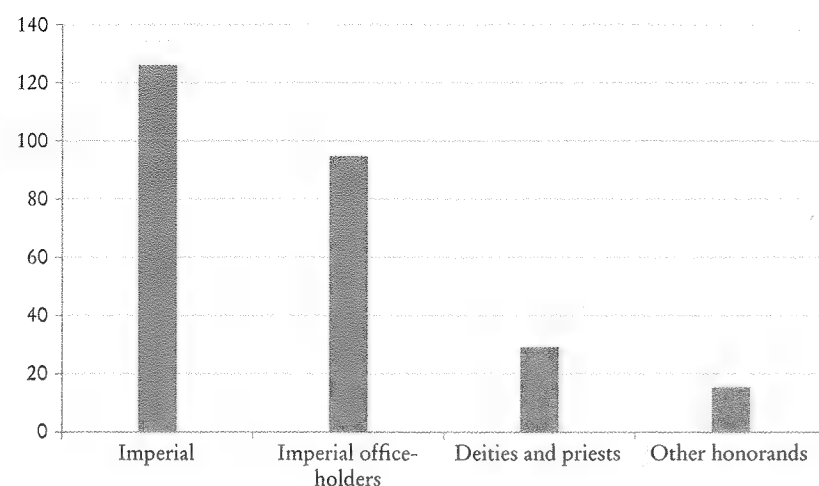


Fig. 10.1 Rome. Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 269. (Omitted are 86 whose status is unknown or not mentioned.)

period (an average of 0.32 per year), while from Lepcis Magna we know of 92 (an average of 0.29). Although much smaller settlements than Rome, these are exceptionally well-excavated cities, which (as Chapters 12 (Smith) and 16 (Bigi and Tantillo) on these two cities show) stand out for the quantity of material they have produced.

As the information preserved on the inscribed bases shows, Rome's population of statues was diverse (Fig. 10.1). As in earlier periods, emperors and members of their families still represented the single largest category of people honoured, receiving c.36 per cent of all inscribed bases (126 out of 351). Imperial office-holders, both civilian and military, make up the second largest group, with 27 per cent (95 bases). One important particularity of Rome is that the local elite cannot be separated from imperial office-holders. Most ambitious Roman aristocrats who earned a statue followed a career in the imperial service, occupying positions at court, provincial governorships, and (in the most successful cases) the prefecture of the City.⁶ This is different from the typical career of members of other municipal elites, usually restricted to local offices and membership of the city council (although a career at

court, was far from impossible). Deities and priests were also traditionally honoured with statues, although this became less frequent with the progression of Christianity. Late antique Romans also set up statues for family members, athletes, and poets.⁷ These are grouped in Fig. 10.1 under the heading 'Other honorands' (less than 5 per cent of all dedications). This relatively small number is partly explained by the fact that in most cases relatives and intellectuals were celebrated when occupying a public position, and therefore are counted by us as 'Imperial office-holders'.

Although Rome is also unique in terms of its surviving statuary (discussed at the end of this chapter), the inscribed bases naturally offer fuller information about the agents and reasons involved in the setting up of statues.

Romans dedicated statues for entirely traditional reasons: to express political loyalty to an emperor (e.g. LSA 1303); to express gratitude to a powerful patron (LSA 1394); to celebrate the public life of a relative (LSA 1521); and also to praise literary or athletic achievements (respectively, LSA 1355 and 1491). Shifts in political life

⁷ Family members: e.g. LSA 1470 and 1462. Athletes: LSA 1491 and 1516. Poets: LSA 1355.

⁶ As demonstrated by Matthews (1990: 13–17).

had a direct impact on statue honours—they reflected the multifarious, and sometimes rapid, changes in imperial politics. After the death of Constantine, for instance, statues were dedicated in Rome to an emperor who fell from grace (Constans, LSA 1549 and 1551), to a usurper who was later defeated (Magentius, 1281 and 1284), to another who was successful (Julian, 1099 and 1498), as well as to Constantius II, who reigned continuously from 337 to 361 (e.g. 1097 and 1278). Two inscribed bases found in Trastevere (LSA 1255 and 1256) offer the best illustration of how changes in the imperial government could affect Rome's population of statues. The bases—with the statues they supported—were originally set up by the guild of tanners and leather merchants to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian in 287. A few years later, however, the names of these two emperors were erased and the bases were rededicated to different rulers, Constantine I and his son Constantine II, perhaps with little change to the statues they supported. This is an important reminder that the statue habit was a feature of Rome's social and political fabric, and that it was influenced by the realities of power as much as it represented them.

A CHANGING POPULATION

In spite of its continuities, the statue habit went through important changes during late antiquity. The practice of re-using statues became increasingly common during our period, so that a substantial proportion of late antique statuary was made from earlier, reworked pieces, rather than produced anew.⁸ Bases of statues were commonly re-used, as in the examples of the dedications to Diocletian and Maximian mentioned above.⁹ Rome's late antique population of statues was substantially made of the recycled monuments

⁸ For a full discussion of re-used statuary, see Chs 1 (Smith) and 22 (Lenaghan).

⁹ LSA 1255 and 1256. For a discussion of the phenomenon of re-using bases, see Machado (forthcoming).

of earlier periods, and this must be kept in mind when continuities and discontinuities are discussed.

Numbers

The most obvious change was quantitative. Fig. 10.2 charts the decline in the number of dedications as documented by inscribed bases. It also expresses this decline in terms of dedications per year, in order to even out the different lengths of each dynastic period. Rather than a simple evolution, what we see is a complex movement, starting with a high number of statue honours in the tetrarchic period (284–311). There was then a slight decline under Constantine (312–37). This is surprising when we consider that Constantine visited Rome on three occasions and carried out an impressive building programme. Furthermore, the emperor was honoured with some exceptional monuments—for example, a number of colossal statues (the most impressive was set up in the Basilica Nova and is now in the courtyard of the Capitoline Museums) and the splendid triumphal arch erected in the Colosseum valley.¹⁰ After the death of Constantine, the average number of statues per year rose significantly, remaining high during the rule of his descendants, as well as during the Valentinianic period (364–78).

As Fig. 10.2 shows, numbers of statues set up declined steeply from 379 onwards, under the Theodosian dynasty, when the government of the city was nominally controlled by Gratian and later Valentinian II. The chronological groupings shown, however, are potentially misleading. We would have a different picture if we took the period starting in 379 as ending in 402, as most of the dedications took place before that date. The most marked fall in statue dedications occurred in the early fifth century, and not in the late fourth.

The overall trend for the long period between 379 and 608 is clear. The number of statues dedicated in Rome declined until it stopped at the

¹⁰ Colossal statues: LSA 554, 558 (in the basilica), and 833. For the arch: LSA 2669.

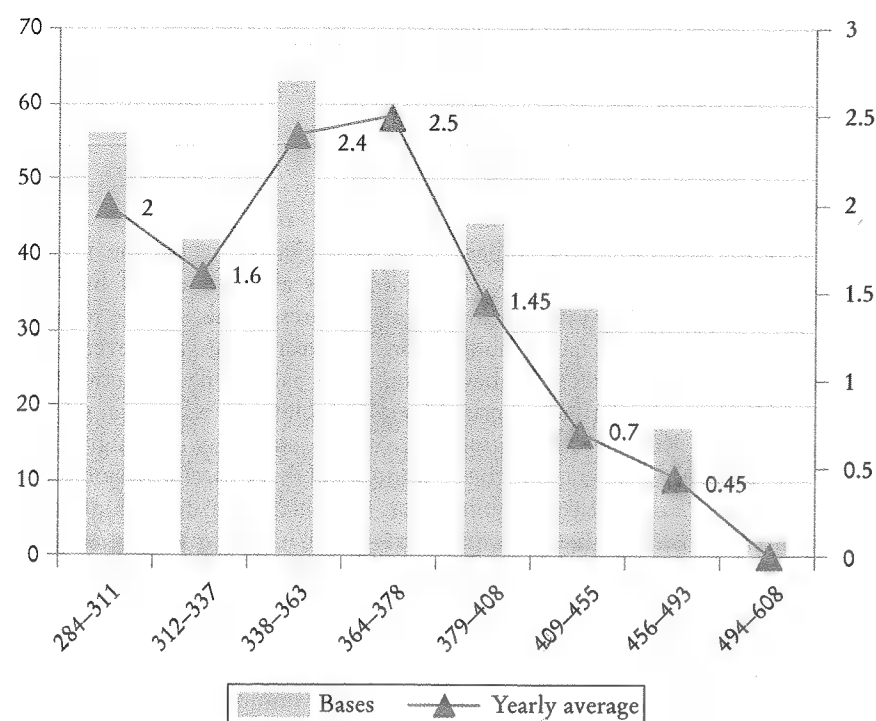


Fig. 10.2 Rome. Datable statue bases by imperial dynasty and yearly average. Total = 295.

beginning of the seventh century. In fact, were it not for the prestigious and exceptional monument to the emperor Phocas in the Roman Forum in 608, our series would end at the beginning of the sixth century, as there is no record of a statue set up between the series of portraits dedicated at that time and that to Phocas dedicated by the Byzantine exarch Smaragdus.¹¹

The sharp decline after 378 suggests that there were two distinct phases in Rome's late antique statue habit. Until the late fourth century, Romans set up statues in large numbers, continuing a tradition established in republican times. Sometime between the accession of Theodosius I and the eventful year 408, the situation changed, and a much smaller number of statues was erected in Rome every year. This is a simplified statistical picture, but other elements support it.

Honorands

There were also dramatic changes in who received statues. As we saw above (Fig. 10.1), imperial statues and their bases constituted the single largest category among all Roman dedications. Emperors and members of their families received the majority of statue honours in the period up to 337. This was a continuation of early imperial practice: since the time of Augustus, images of the emperors had dominated the cityscape.¹² The late Roman political world was of course still focused on the emperors and their courts, and it was natural that they should take the largest share of dedications.¹³ This dominance was celebrated not only through the iconography of imperial portraits but also through

¹² A point made by Eck (1984: 131-2).

¹³ For a classic formulation of this perspective, see L'Orange (1965). For a more recent approach: Kelly (1998: 139-50).

¹¹ For early 6th-c. portraits, see further below, 'Chronology and dated monuments'. Column of Phocas: LSA 1313.

the grandiloquent language of honorific inscriptions. Constantius II, for example, was hailed in the Forum as 'restorer of the city of Rome and of the world [*urbis... adque orbis*]', and exterminator of a pestiferous tyranny', as inscribed on the base of a grand equestrian monument dedicated by the prefect of the City Naeratus Cerealis in the Forum in 358 (LSA 838) (Figure 10.3). The deified Constantine I was remembered after his death with a statue in the Forum Boarium, dedicated by a prefect of the *annona* (grain supply), celebrating both the deceased emperor and his sons (LSA 273).

From the time of Constantine's successors, the number of imperial statue honours began to decline, until they disappeared entirely in the middle of the fifth century, while at the same time statues of other honorands grew in number. What can explain this development? Later dedications do not show any significant shift in the ways imperial power was celebrated, and nor do they suggest lack of the enthusiasm of Roman office-holders towards their rulers. In 389 Theodosius I was described as 'exceeding the clemency, blessedness, and munificence of earlier emperors'—one year after having crushed the usurpation of Magnus Maximus (LSA 1304). Theodosius' statue with its inscribed base was probably dedicated in the Forum of Trajan, where the favourable comparison with earlier emperors would have held particular resonance. Admittedly, emperors of the late third and early fourth centuries, such as Diocletian and Constantine, had been particularly active as patrons of imperial projects in Rome, and the pace of building did fall off in the later fourth century.¹⁴

As imperial statues declined, so the number of statues erected for imperial office-holders rose, both military and civilian. From only three dedications in the tetrarchic period, this group gained prominence during the reign of Constantine and reached an important position in 338-63, equaling the number of imperial monuments (twenty for each category). From the Valentinianic period

onwards, imperial office-holders received more dedications than emperors and their families. This important shift should be considered in greater detail. Scholars have observed how, from the middle of the fourth century, aristocrats came to play a greater role in imperial politics. This was partly due to the enlargement of the senatorial order—a process that promoted a large number of government bureaucrats to the rank of senators.¹⁵ While this political and social reform might explain the rise in the number of dedications to imperial office-holders, it does not fully explain how this category of honorands came to receive more honours than the imperial family.

Another possible explanation is that the number of statues to imperial office-holders rose because of an increasing vogue for erecting statues in private or semi-private spaces. A few office-holders were honoured by emperors and the senate in public areas, especially the Forum of Trajan, while military office-holders, such as Stilicho and Aetius, were honoured in the Roman Forum (Fig. 10.4).¹⁶ However, we should be careful not to generalize on the basis of the two best excavated monumental areas in the city. Although it is impossible to be precise, it is clear from the type of dedication, and sometimes from the find-spot, that a number of statues of imperial office-holders were set up in domestic spaces.

Awarders

The profile of those responsible for setting up these statues is also relevant. The two periods up to 337 were marked by a great diversity of awarders—they included emperors, imperial office-holders, city office-holders, provincials, and guilds. City office-holders, such as the prefect of the *vigiles* Rupilius Pisonianus,¹⁷ dedicated most of their monuments to emperors. In

¹⁵ Matthews (1990) analyses the role of aristocrats in the government. For the reform of the senatorial order: Heather (1998).

¹⁶ As observed by Bauer (2007: 79-86). See now also Chenault (2012).

¹⁷ LSA 1386, to Constans in 333-7.

¹⁴ See, e.g. Chastagnol (1993).

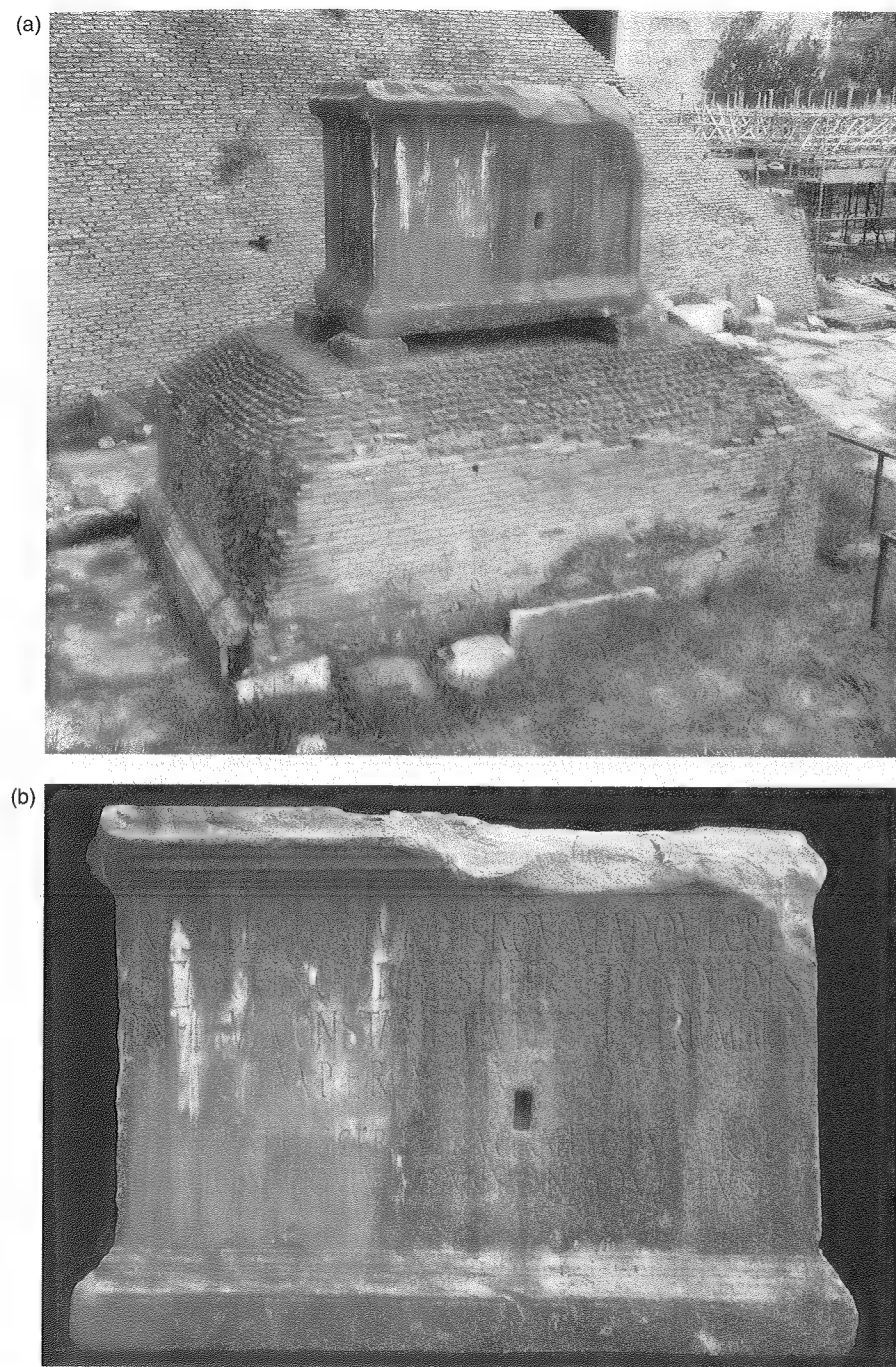


Fig. 10.3 Base for equestrian statue of Constantius II, Rome. 352–3, LSA 838. Roman Forum, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 12442. H: 180 cm.

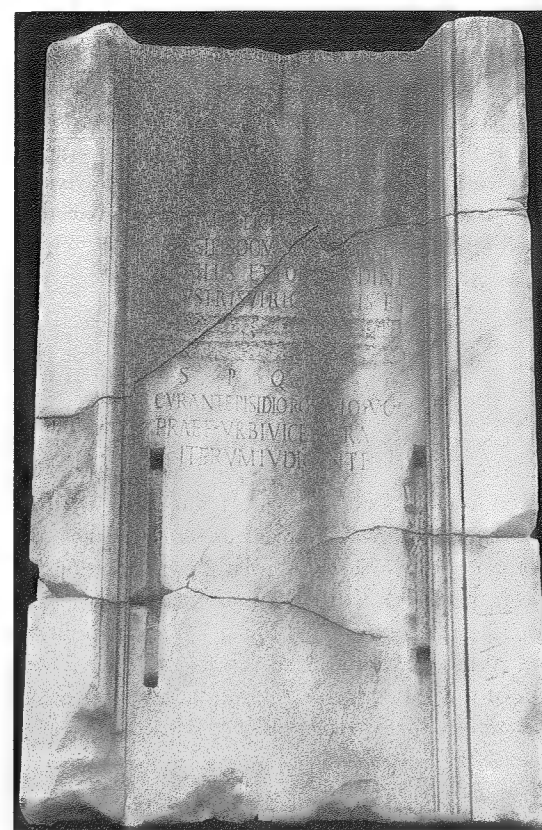


Fig. 10.4 Base for statue dedicated to the *Fides* and *Virtus* of the emperor's soldiers, Rome. 406, LSA 1363. Roman Forum, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 12436. H: 230 cm.

324, the supervisor of the aqueducts and of the *porticus Minucia*, Versenus Fortunatus, dedicated two statues to Constantine in the Roman Forum, one of them in the vicinity of the *lacus Iuturnae* (LSA 1411 and 1500). A local office-holder supervising public works, one Aelius Dionysius, dedicated statues to Jupiter and Hercules in 301–2—an obvious reference to the divine associations of Diocletian and Maximian (LSA 1506 and 1528). Family members and clients also dedicated statues privately, celebrating their personal relations and the achievements of the honorands. A good example is LSA 1325, the base of a statue dedicated by Titus Aelius Poemenius to his patron, Titus Flavius Postumius

Titianus, in the closing years of the third century. Titianus had supported the promotion of Poemenius to the procuratorship of the aqueducts, before himself being promoted from *consularis* in charge of the aqueducts to the proconsulship of Africa. His client, Poemenius, was able in this way both to express his gratitude to his patron and to strengthen their ties.

The end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century was also marked by the intense involvement of imperial office-holders in the setting up of statues. Members of different departments, such as the imperial fisc and patrimony, consuls, and praetorian prefects, focused most of their efforts on celebrating the emperors of the day (seventeen of nineteen dedications made by this group between 284 and 337). Emperors, the senate, and urban prefects also set up statues, confirming the impression that during this early period the statue habit remained relatively open as a social phenomenon, incorporating a diversity of awarders. Already absent at this period, however, are other forms of wider political association active in setting up statues—such as the *populus* or the *plebs* (which were still active in provincial towns). The only collective organizations dedicating statues in the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods were guilds.

It was an important change in this picture when urban prefects began in the mid-fourth century to play a dominant role in the shaping of Rome's population of statues. Whereas prefects of the city were responsible for only two dedications in the period 284–311 and four in 312–37, they set up twenty-four statues in 338–63 and eighteen in 364–78, and maintained their primacy over subsequent periods. This was certainly due to the reform of the urban prefecture in the early fourth century. A series of administrative changes put all office-holders related to the running of the city and its services under the authority of the prefect.¹⁸ Prefects dedicated statues in public spaces such as the Roman Forum, the Campus Martius, and other prestigious monumental

¹⁸ A process studied in great detail by Chastagnol (1960: 21–42).

complexes.¹⁹ Their control over the personnel involved in the storage, production, and actual erection of statues was so complete that they also appear as responsible for carrying out the work in dedications made by the Senate.²⁰

Parallel to the rise of the prefects we can see a decline in the number of dedications by other awarders and in the range of types of awarder. In the early fifth century, statues were dedicated by emperors (in the Forum of Trajan), by the Senate, and by family members (in their houses), alongside those erected by the prefects of the City—a much narrower band of Roman society than had been involved in the statue habit in the years around 300. From the death of Constantine, the city prefects controlled important aspects of statue deployment in Rome: 35 out of 127 statues for emperors were dedicated by them, and 48 out of 67 restorations and movements of statues for purposes unstated in the inscriptions were carried out under their orders.

The late antique statue habit in Rome was marked by the rise of this specific form of inscription, one associated with the care for the city's heritage of statuary. Scholars have observed how the movement, repair, and rededication of statues came to play an important role in late antique Rome and elsewhere.²¹ It is therefore assumed, with good reason, that a large number of inscribed bases recording the setting up of a statue, but not its subject, relate to this phenomenon.²² That older statues were being moved is clear, for example, in the large number of dedications made by the prefect Gabinius Vettius Probianus in the Roman Forum in 377.²³ The phrasing of the inscriptions stressed the act of moving the statues to a better location and their (new) functions as *ornamenta*. Some

very late inscriptions relating to statues of deities, such as that of Victoria in the *vicus Patricius* (LSA 1471) and of Minerva in the *atrium Minervae* (LSA 791 in the Forum), should also be seen in this light. The culture and antiquity of paganism were treasured by the late Roman aristocracy, and its religious meaning was not viewed as conflicting with the Christian context in which these statues were now erected.²⁴

OSTIA AND PORTUS

As the discussion above emphasizes, the late antique statue habit in Rome was exceptional, different in scale and nature from what we find in other cities. Ostia, where the presence of the Roman elite was felt on a daily basis, belongs in this respect with Rome. Roman aristocrats owned houses in the vicinity of the city, and its political and administrative life was subordinate to the prefect of the annona and (to an uncertain extent) to the prefect of Rome.²⁵ Ostia has produced more than forty LSA entries (some seventeen inscribed bases and some twenty-three surviving items of statuary, with a further four inscribed bases from neighbouring Portus), a higher figure than for any other city of Italy outside Rome.

Although relatively well-documented, the case of Ostia and Portus poses some problems that must be taken into account. Six statue items are datable to the tetrarchic period; another seventeen cannot be precisely dated. The statue-base evidence is also problematic. Five dedications were made between 284 and 311; one is recorded under Constantine I; and there are five between 338 and 363. Inscriptions recording the setting up of statues then peak at seven in the period 379–409, before falling to only one recorded case in the first half of the fifth century, disappearing altogether thereafter. The late fourth-

¹⁹ e.g. LSA 1278 (Roman Forum), 1498 (Campus Martius), and 1286 (Baths of Caracalla).

²⁰ e.g. LSA 1306, 1307, and 1308 (city gates, to Honorius and Arcadius); and 1363, in the Roman Forum.

²¹ See Curran (1994) for Rome, and Lepelley (1994) for the western empire as a whole. Machado (2006: 179–89) discusses the phenomenon for the Roman Forum.

²² e.g. LSA 303, 1523, and 1326.

²³ LSA 1277, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1358, 1359, 1362, and 1433. See Machado (2006: 170–71) for the date.

²⁴ As discussed in Machado (2009: 348–53).

²⁵ The archaeology of Ostia and Portus has attracted considerable attention in recent years. Especially useful for the history of these cities are Meiggs (1960: esp. 83–101) and Pavolini (2005: 255–71) (first published in 1986). For a more recent account, see Boin (2013).

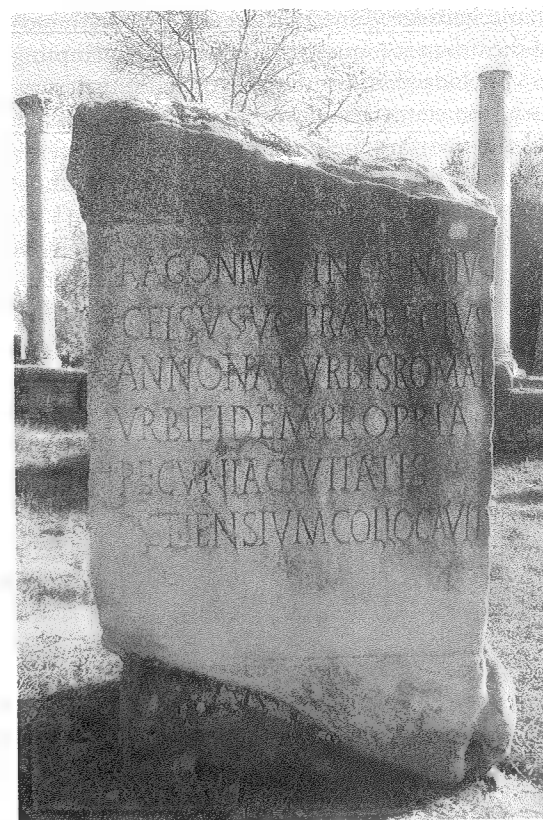


Fig. 10.5 Base for statue of Roma, erected by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the annona, Ostia. Late fourth century, LSA 1662. Ostia Antica, near Theatre, H: 114 cm.

century peak was heavily influenced by one man. Of the seven inscribed statue bases datable to this period, four were set up by the prefect of the annona, Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, and another was made in his honour (Fig. 10.5).²⁶

Fig. 10.6 shows that more than 50 per cent of the statue bases of Ostia and Portus (eleven of twenty-one) were set up to emperors and members of their families. Most of these were made in 284–311 and 338–63 (four in each period). The

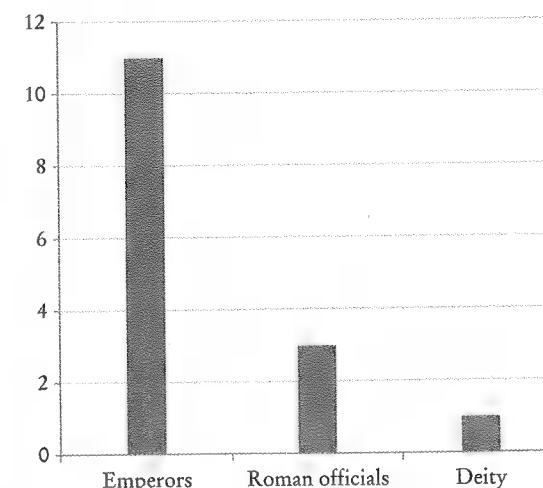


Fig. 10.6 Ostia. Categories of honorand recorded in inscribed bases. Total = 15.

next largest category are five bases recording the movement of statues (of unstated subject), three of which were set up by the prefect of the annona Celsus, who also dedicated a statue to the goddess Roma (Fig. 10.5).²⁷ The dedication to Roma is a good illustration of the close ties between the two cities, and it is no coincidence that it was set up by someone who was both a Roman office-holder and the highest-ranking office-holder of Ostia.²⁸

Prefects of the annona were honoured with three statues, all of them dedicated by the *ordo* and the *populus* (in one case in Portus): Manilius Rusticianus (granted the exceptional honour of an equestrian statue some time between 300 and 306), Lucius Crepereius Madalianus (honoured in Portus between 337 and 340), and Ragonius Vincentius Celsus (honoured by the *ordo* and 'the whole city' of Ostia between 385 and 389).²⁹ Perhaps the best indication that the statue habit was primarily an extraneous 'Roman' element in late antique Ostia and Portus is the fact that more than half

²⁷ See previous note.

²⁸ See Meiggs (1960: 84) on the importance of prefects of the annona under the late empire.

²⁹ LSA 1661 (to Rusticianus), 1660 (Madalianus), and 1653 (Celsus).

²⁶ Dedicated by Celsus: LSA 1650, 1651, and 2582 (moved statues); 1662 (to the goddess Roma). Dedicated to Celsus: LSA 1653.

(eleven of twenty-one) of the statue inscriptions were set up by Roman office-holders—almost twice the number (six) made by local agents (including the local council, the people, and guilds).

While Ostia was certainly not as wealthy or politically dynamic in the fourth century as it had been in the second century, the fact that it has produced more evidence of late antique statuary than most cities is a good indication of its continued importance.³⁰ As the brief discussion above suggests, the statue habit seems to have lost much of its relevance already by the early fourth century. The small role played by local awarders, in contrast with the number of statues dedicated by Roman office-holders, suggests that the city's population of late antique statues was not a product of the priorities and interests of the local elite, but of Roman groups.

ROME'S LATE ANTIQUE STATUE HABIT: CONCLUSION

In the case of Rome, the late antique statue habit should not be seen as uniform, and its evolution should certainly not be seen as a simple unilinear process. As we have seen, late antique statue practice was different from its early imperial phases, in the first place because it involved the massive re-use of material. The overall number of statues set up was also much lower—in spite of being considerably higher in Rome than anywhere else in the late antique world. The LSA evidence shows fewer statues were dedicated over time, but this decline became steep only towards the end of the fourth century, after a peak in the Valentinianic dynasty.

The last statues of Rome were, above all, the product of an increasingly restricted group of agents, the most important of whom were the urban prefects. Statues were dedicated also to a narrower range of honorands. At the same time the management and care of the city's existing

statue heritage gained prominence in the minds of the urban administration. It might be tempting to conclude that, by the end of the fourth century, the statue habit was already a relic of the past. Important new statue honours however were still being set up through the fifth century (more than sixty in LSA—e.g. for Aetius (LSA 1434) in the Forum or for Fl. Olbius Auxentius Draucus (LSA 1407) in the Forum of Trajan (Fig. 10.7)). Romans continued to set up statues in public spaces, and, as Cassiodorus reminds us,



Fig. 10.7 Base for gilded bronze statue of Fl. Olbius Auxentius Draucus, prefect of the city. From Rome. 425–50, LSA 1407. Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. 22647. H: 167 cm.

³⁰ On 4th-c. Ostia, see Pavolini (1986: 273).

kept looking after them.³¹ The dedication of honorific statues, as a means of 'lubricating political relations',³² was less prominent than it had been up to the time of Valentinian. Statues were however an essential component of Roman life, and remained so even in the medieval period. The stories collected by visitors and locals, preserved, for example, in the twelfth-century narrative of Master Gregory,³³ are a good illustration of this phenomenon. This was a different society, however, in which statues were more objects of amazement than embodiments of concrete social and political relationships.

SURVIVING STATUARY

The shape of the surviving statuary evidence from the city of Rome is difficult to assess and requires some preliminary evaluation. The LSA database lists some seventy-eight statue items (many of them heads) with a provenance from Rome. Of these, forty-nine have secure find-spots in the city, and twenty-nine others are thought with some reason to be from Rome or recorded as probably from the city.

Rome has, however, for centuries been a source for collectors of ancient statuary and the centre of a thriving art market which gathered material from all of central Italy. There were fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Italian collectors who mainly collected objects from their own properties. There followed a surge of 'Grand Tour' European collectors as well as new excavations in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Then late nineteenth- and twentieth-century collectors were frequently able to purchase finds made during the construction of the new capital city. There is therefore a body of other pieces—a large but imprecisely defined body—that are probably from Rome, although this is not recorded or cannot be documented. There are perhaps as many as ninety such pieces. About forty-five come from

old and more recent Roman collections (e.g. those of the Albani, Barberini, Borghese, Campana, Doria Pamphili, Giustiniani, Medici, and Torlonia families), and about forty are in major Roman museum collections but without specific provenance (Vatican, National Museum, and Capitoline). In addition, there are some ten pieces purchased in the city in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This makes a potential total of some 170 late antique statue items that are certainly or probably from Rome—a far greater quantity than we have from any other city.

Examples may be given of the likely Roman origin of some of the uncertain material described above. The colossal Constantine in New York (LSA 554) is from the Roman Giustiniani collection. The diademed Berlin portrait head (LSA 589) is probably Roman on grounds of size and quality. Three portrait heads of Maxentius are from Roman collections and of a Rome-based honorand: Dresden (Bellori) (Fig. 10.8), Stockholm (Barberini), and Torlonia

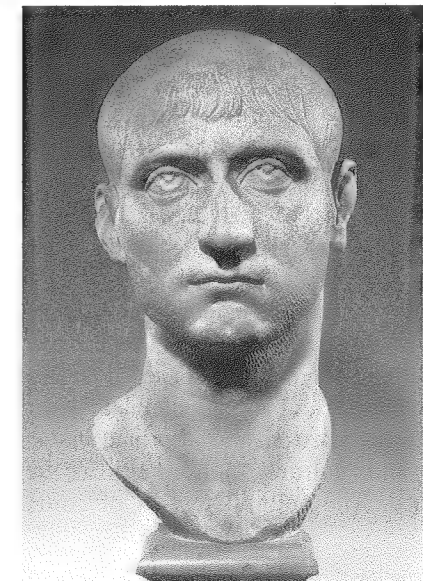


Fig. 10.8 Colossal portrait of Maxentius in 'Dresden-Stockholm' type. From Italy. Early fourth century, LSA 896. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Hm 406. H: 61.7 cm.

³¹ Cassiodorus, *Variae* 7.13.

³² See Ch. 2 (Ward-Perkins) for this expression.

³³ See Osborne (1987) for the text.

(Vitali) (LSA 895-7). The portrait statue of a woman in Castle Howard was purchased from the Duke of Paganica in 1776, and has a high probability of a Roman provenance (LSA 1271). Objects purchased more recently in Rome are at times published unequivocally as originating from the city.³⁴ Although it is possible in some cases that the buyers and sellers knew the provenance to be Rome, a margin of error is necessary. The tetrarchic head, LSA 850, now in Oslo, serves as a warning. It was purchased in 1930-31 in Rome, but is so similar to the portrait of a Tetrarch in Sperlonga (LSA 1043) that it seems more likely to have come from there.

The number of about 170 late antique statue items from Rome is imprecise, but is probably a reasonably accurate figure. The real number could be higher, but it is a reliable and representative sample. Set against c. 350 inscribed bases preserved from the city, the proportion of statuary to bases of about 1:2 is within—indeed close to—LSA and earlier imperial-period norms.

HONORANDS

The honorands represented in the c. 170 statuary items can be broadly analysed as follows: emperors and family (34 per cent), non-imperial men (30 per cent), women (23 per cent), and cultural figures of the classical past (10 per cent). In the two largest categories, imperial and non-imperial male, these numbers fit broadly with the epigraphic evidence presented above (36 per cent imperial and 27 per cent non-imperial male, i.e. various office-holders, aristocrats, senators, and a few generals). Discrepancy between the statuary and inscribed bases among female and 'cultural' honorands can be easily explained. The cultural figures of course have

³⁴ Examples: three heads now in Copenhagen—LSA 804, purchased from the collection of L. Curtius; LSA 807, a Constantine acquired from the scholar H. P. L'Orange; LSA 578 (purchased on the art market but probably noted by F. Matz and F. von Duhn in the Baths of Caracalla in the late 19th c.); and two female portraits of the later 3rd c. now in Boston (LSA 1592) and Munich (LSA 1552).

no corresponding evidence in the record of public inscribed bases: they were generally busts, herms, and shield portraits for private contexts. Imperial women have a roughly equal number of surviving marble portraits and inscribed bases (9:8), and some were surely from private statues and busts. Non-imperial women have roughly twice the number of marble portraits as inscribed bases (39:19)—the reverse of the normal proportion—which is also to be explained by the likely private setting of many of them. A female statue from Rome now in Copenhagen (LSA 409) which has its inscription on the plinth (it was set up by one Euboulion for his mother-in-law) is a good example of such domestic circumstances (Fig. 20.3). The statue did not require a formal inscribed base. The inscription on the plinth was probably enough, and indeed in many cases no inscription was considered necessary.

Portraits of late antique women appear nowhere else in such quantity. Most examples are preserved as detached heads—from statues, many probably from busts. There are however some ten statues of women (three of which are definitively imperial) mostly made from earlier figures.³⁵ The 'classically' robed statue of a woman (in an undergarment and overgarment) continued to be the appropriate mode to honour the ideal mother and wife (see Chapter 20, Schade). Only minor details of modern, late antique fashion—such as shoes (LSA 1314), belt (LSA 985), or necklace (LSA 1295)—were sometimes added. Late Roman female portraits show well the continuity and conservatism of personal styles in the *urbs*.

CHRONOLOGY AND DATED MONUMENTS

Securely dated and identified tetrarchs (apart from the Vatican porphyries, LSA 840-41) to set beside the record of the inscribed bases are few. Among the material with uncertain

³⁵ Helena, LSA 965 and LSA 966. Re-used Agrippina basalt, LSA 1597. Seven non-imperial women, LSA 409, 985, 1271, 1296, 1314, 1591, and 2122.

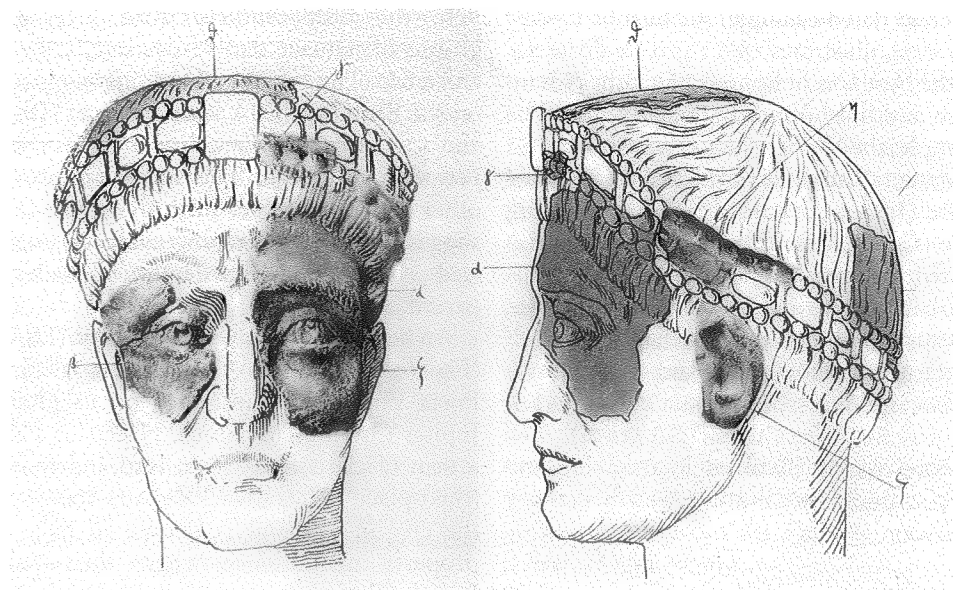


Fig. 10.9 Reconstruction of bronze portrait head of Valens (or Valentinian I). From Rome. 366-7, LSA 580. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 55052. H: 22.5 cm.

provenance are probably tetrarchic-period emperors. Three portraits, now identified as Maxentius (LSA 895-7 (Fig. 10.8)), all came from old Roman collections, respectively Vitali, Belleri, and Barberini. Two portraits, usually identified as Constantius I (LSA 851 and 880) appeared on the art market, respectively, in 1893 and 1909. These portraits are carefully crafted versions of the same model and correspond to coin images of these rulers. They are not marked by external iconography as imperial. Other heads that potentially represent tetrarchs and come from Rome are LSA 810 (Vatican) and LSA 811 and 851 (both Copenhagen).

The reign of Constantine has left a rich series of portraits of the emperor from Rome: colossal heads from the Basilica Nova (LSA 558), from the Meta Sudans area (bronze, LSA 562), from the Forum of Trajan (LSA 833), and from the Giustiniani collection (LSA 554), as well as two cuirassed statues of Constantine and Constantine II with *coronae civicae* from the Baths of Constantine (LSA 555-6). A well-dated private portrait from the Constantinian period from Rome,

that of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius (LSA 903 and 1266), has a traditional re-used togatus body and a close-cropped and stubbled portrait head rooted in styles of c. AD 300 (Figs 22.1 and 23.5).³⁶

Later in the fourth century, dated monuments include: (1) a fragmentary bronze togate statue of Valens or Valentinian I from 366-7 (LSA 580, 1072, and 1820) accompanied by a series of bronze Victory statues (LSA 2584-6 (Fig. 10.9));³⁷ (2) a togate portrait bust of a senator called Cethegus (LSA 879) of c. 370; and (3) a statue of the chief vestal virgin, Coelia Concordia, set up by the wife of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus in 385 (LSA 1296 and 1510). All three were imbued with traditional 'classical' statuary style, and attributes apart, none would have looked out of place in the Antonine age.

³⁶ See further Ch. 22 (Lenaghan).

³⁷ A similar group of imperial figure with victories was set up in Ephesus for the empress Aelia Flacilla in AD 379-86 (LSA 723).

The second dated example, the bust of Cethegus (LSA 879), illustrates well a private domestic context: the bust was in honour of a father set up by his son and did not need a lengthy text. The third example, the Vestal's statue, was also from a private context. The three individuals mentioned on its base (LSA 1510) are the Vestal receiving the statue (Coelia), the aristocratic woman who has initiated the honour (Fabia), and her famous pagan husband (Pratextatus). The statue has been given because the honorand, Coelia, had herself set up a statue for Fabia's husband. Fabia, a serious initiate in numerous pagan cults, herself received a statue elsewhere (LSA 1474). The Vestals were closely involved in receiving and setting up statues into the late fourth century (eleven bases).



Fig. 10.10 Statue of Jupiter set up by Neratius Palmatus. From Rome. Early fifth century, LSA 2538. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. H: 180 cm.

In the fifth century, three heterogeneous groups of statuary date respectively c.400, c.412, and c.500. The two togati holding *mappas* found on the Esquiline (LSA 1068 and 1069) (Figs 1.15 and 1.16) wear the new distinctive Theodosian-period toga design. The surprising absence of other and later statues in this costume in Rome suggests, as the epigraphic evidence might also lead us to expect, that few were made in this period.

An aegis-bearing statue of Jupiter (LSA 2538) (Fig. 10.10), found in the area of a villa near the Porta Viminalis, is inscribed on its plinth, 'To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Naeratus Palmatus, a man of clarissimus rank, lord and founder of (this) place'. Naeratus Palmatus was prefect of the city in 412 and is known to have owned property in the area where the statue was found. The statue is a re-used second-century figure, merely inscribed anew by Palmatus. Regardless of any religious implications that the

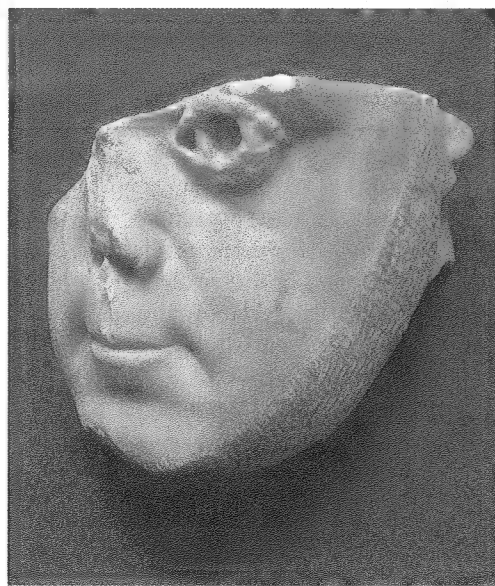


Fig. 10.11 Fragmentary head of man with inset pupils and under-chin beard. From Rome. Early sixth century, LSA 1079. Rome, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, inv. 1. H: 16 cm.

statue might have, it is clear evidence for the continued private use of classical-style statuary.³⁸

Three portrait heads of a single empress ('Ariadne') have the same technical style manufacture—most obviously, all have hollow discs for the inlay of large irises (LSA 755, 756, and 757). Two of the three are replicas of the same portrait model: they wear exactly the same head-dress and diadem and repeat the same plump, round-eyed facial features. The third, LSA 755, has similar features but a less rounded face and a slightly different headdress. The headdress, a stiff

bonnet adorned with gems and strings of pearls, appears first on ivory diptychs in the sixth century. A male portrait found on the Palatine (LSA 1079) (Fig. 10.11) and another from Tusculum with a diadem (LSA 758) show the same technique and style. How far into the sixth century this group of marble portraits might date it is not possible to say.

The surviving portrait statuary from late antique Rome is diverse, and survives in unusually high numbers. The dated monuments range from the tetrarchic period to the sixth century. In style and priorities, the statues retain more or less traditional habits until the last group of staring, wide-eyed, and physiognomically manipulated portraits of the 'Ariadne' group (LSA 755–7) and the last portrait heads from the Palatine and Tusculum (LSA 758 and 1079).

³⁸ The recut portrait head of a woman, LSA 984, found in the 4th/5th-c. context of the Basilica Hilariana, a sanctuary for Cybele and Attis and seat of the college of the *dendrofori*, is another example of the continued coexistence of marble statuary and traditional religious practice.

CHAPTER 11

Constantinople

Ulrich Gehn and Bryan Ward-Perkins

The evidence from Constantinople is exceptional in two ways: first, the city has evidence of large numbers of statues, primarily imperial, being set up until a much later date than any other centre of the Roman world; secondly, the evidence consists primarily of literary texts. Surviving statuary and inscribed bases are relatively scarce.

Constantinople has produced some 200 items attesting to new late antique statuary: twenty-six surviving sculptures, thirteen statue bases, and almost 160 textual references (Fig. 11.1).¹ This stands in obvious contrast to Rome, from which c.350 bases are recorded in our database. While the rich literary evidence testifies to a flourishing intellectual life in late antique Constantinople, the absence of inscribed bases reveals, by contrast, the little that we know archaeologically about the city. Rome has been explored since the Renaissance, and its monuments are incomparably better known than those of Constantinople.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The textual evidence for Constantinople comes from three main categories of source: (1) collections of Greek verse epigrams of the fifth and

¹ In the case of textual references, a degree of approximation is necessary. There is a possibility of duplication; many statues have been entered by us as parts of groups; and some references are dubious.

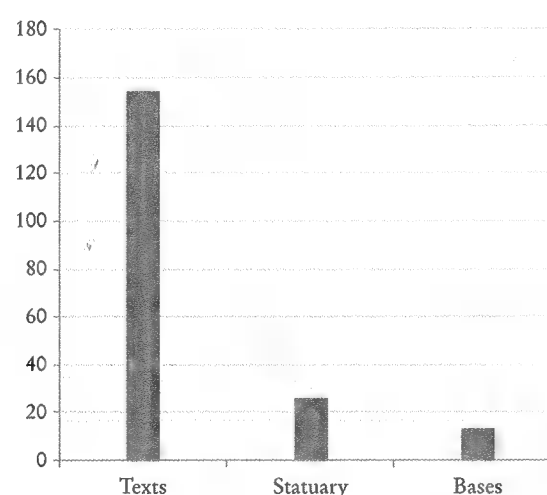


Fig. 11.1 Constantinople. Types of evidence for statue monuments.

sixth centuries, now known as the *Palatine Anthology* and the *Planudean Anthology*, which include epigrams from statue bases and occasional verses about statues;² (2) occasional references to statues in historical texts, such as the sixth-century John Malalas and the seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale*; and (3) a mass of evidence in an eighth-century description of

² The *Planudean Anthology* is published as Book 16 of the *Palatine Anthology* in modern scholarly editions.

the city, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (lit. 'Abridged Historical Explanations').³

The importance of the Greek epigrams is that they include material on non-imperial statuary, which is rare in the other textual sources, and record the names of the awarders of the statues, which are less often noted in our other texts.⁴ Some of this evidence can be questioned—were all the epigrams that were ostensibly from statue bases really set up in this fashion, or were some of them flights of fantasy?⁵ Fortunately, the discovery of two bases to the charioteer Porphyrius in Constantinople (LSA 349 and 361), which include on them verses that were recorded in the anthologies, lends strong support to the 'reality' of at least a number of these statue epigrams.⁶ But there are further problems with the poetic evidence. Some poems describing the virtues of individuals without specific reference to an image might not have come from statue bases, but could have been 'free-standing' poems. We have therefore included in our database only poems that explicitly mention an image.⁷ But even these can be problematic: when the term *eikon* is used we cannot always be certain that a statue rather than a bust or a painting is being referred to, since the word can be used for any of these honorific portrait formats.⁸

The historical texts in the form in which they survive are mostly much later than the statues they refer to, but they were almost certainly based on earlier, lost evidence, and, as far as we can tell, the information they provide on statuary is generally reliable. By contrast, the *Parastaseis* and the closely related *Patria* (which, on this subject, are heavily dependent on the *Parastaseis*) bring with them a number of problems. They associate several statues with fanciful stories,⁹ while rarely recording the persons or institutions

that erected them.¹⁰ More seriously, some of their attributions range from the extremely dubious to the clearly fanciful: examples are the statues of the 'crooked Firmilianus' (LSA 408), of Constantine VI on a column at the *Exakionion* (LSA 2823), of Justinian II (LSA 2824), of the emperor Valentinian holding a bushel at the *Modion* (LSA 2504), of a kneeling emperor (LSA 2796), and of the eunuch Plato (LSA 2790). Although individual entries are extremely suspect (and are clearly identified as such in the LSA database), there is enough evidence in other sources to support the broad picture we get from the *Parastaseis* of Constantinople as a city full of newly erected imperial statuary right up to the end of the sixth century. We would not want to rely on the evidence for any individual statue in the *Parastaseis* and *Patria* unless supported elsewhere, but we believe the broad picture they offer is trustworthy.

The cumulative literary evidence reveals a city with a distinctive pattern of statue use. Constantinople through the fourth and fifth centuries acquired a series of monumental imperial fora, for the most part laid out along the axis of its principal street, the *Mese*, culminating in the area of the hippodrome, imperial palace, and Hagia Sophia. These imperial fora were landmarks of the urban topography, highlighted by prominent columnar monuments bearing colossal imperial statues, around which subsidiary statuary was clustered.¹¹ The main streets that linked these fora were adorned with colonnades (*emboloi*), and scattered evidence suggests that these too displayed honorific statues in a manner similar to that attested archaeologically at sites such as Ephesus. Whereas most cities had a clear central core (generally the main forum), where statuary was concentrated, in Constantinople the distribution of statuary was more diffuse and linear.

³ See Abbreviations, *Parastaseis*.

⁴ e.g. LSA 344, 476, and 488 (all Constantinople); LSA 227 (Aphrodisias), 486 (Smyrna), 548 (Miletus), and 663 (Myrina). Our database contains 148 bases with verse inscriptions.

⁵ On this issue, see Bauer (2007: 92–7, 101–2).

⁶ Another poem from the Greek anthologies has recently been found on a base in the agora of Smyrna, LSA 2588.

⁷ e.g. *Anthologia Planudea* 74; compare Robert (1948: 16).

⁸ e.g. LSA 476 and 481 (Constantinople); LSA 484 (Berytus).

⁹ e.g. LSA 2778 and 2791.

¹⁰ LSA 29 to Theodosius II, allegedly set up by the eunuch Chrysaphius, is only known from the *Patria*. This is true also for the family group of Justin II in the harbour of Sophia (LSA 345, 346, 473, 474, and 2767), said to have been set up at the request of the emperor, while LSA 2745 and 2746, to Marcian (450–57) and his wife, Pulcheria, are said to have been erected by the emperor Leo.

¹¹ Bauer (1996: 146–7, figs 47–9, 365–6).

NON-IMPERIAL STATUARY

Most of our literary evidence concerns imperial statues. This is partly because these were the most famous monuments, connected to the principal figures in the history of the city and set up in its most prominent locations, the imperial fora, which were dominated by statues of their imperial founders and functioned as important stations in the developed imperial ceremonial of the Byzantine period. This explains why the medieval authors are interested in them. There is much less evidence for statuary to personages below the level of the imperial family. In the absence of archaeological evidence, it is impossible to say conclusively whether this reflects the true position in late antiquity or is a quirk of the evidence. Probably the reality is a mixture of the two. We have some literary evidence for non-imperial statues: for instance, the politician and orator Themistius tells us that two statues were erected to him (LSA 467 and 468), and a few epigrams in the anthologies, some of them explicitly referring to Constantinople, were clearly from statue bases (LSA 344, 478, and 488), including the large number of charioteer epigrams (LSA 489, 499–507, and 511). Others may also have been from statue bases (LSA 476, 477, and 481).

The non-imperial honorands that we know from the literary evidence, although few, are diverse in character and generally high-ranking, as we would expect in a great imperial city: consuls (LSA 344, 353, and 477), prefects of Constantinople (LSA 471 and 476), praetorian prefects (LSA 344, 471, and 477), a distinguished rhetor and politician (Themistius, LSA 467 and 468), a famous doctor (LSA 348), military commanders (from the fifth century onwards, LSA 353, 478, and 2794),¹² and one distinguished figure from the western empire (Lucius Aurelius Symmachus, LSA 343). There is even good evidence of a statue set up in the 330s to an allied

barbarian chieftain (LSA 2635). As in Rome, some of these statues are known to have been of gilded bronze, a material of the highest prestige (LSA 343, 344, 477, 478, and 2794). What is exceptional in Constantinople is that these statues were still being erected in the sixth century when even in Rome the statue habit was effectively dead. The sixth-century evidence is primarily literary and can be questioned, but it includes the series of bases to charioteers (discussed below), two of which have actually been discovered (LSA 349 and 361). Most of the sixth-century figures commemorated are, as we would expect, high office-holders in the imperial civil and military administration: Belisarius of 529–62 (LSA 2794), a quaestor of the palace of 522–7 (LSA 488), a prefect of the city of 536–42 (LSA 476), a consul and praetorian prefect of the mid-sixth century (LSA 477), and a military commander and nephew of the emperor Nicetas of 610–25 (LSA 478). The statue of Nicetas is the last reliably documented new honorific statue dedication in the entire LSA database. A new category of honorand also appears—office-holders specifically linked to the court. A dedication to a *quaestor sacri palatii* of 522–7 (LSA 488) comes apparently from a bronze statue, and one to a *praepositus sacri cubiculi* of the mid-sixth century (LSA 481) certainly accompanied an image, possibly a statue.

The evidence of surviving non-imperial statuary from Constantinople is not extensive (some nineteen pieces, some of them fragmentary—by comparison with some fifty from Rome).¹³ With some interesting exceptions, which we will come to, what we have is broadly similar to late antique statuary elsewhere. Five statues, some fragmentary, wore the new costumes, the *chlamys* (LSA 1160, 1167, and 1168) or the late antique *toga* (1033 and 1040) (Fig. 11.2). Two of the *chlamydati* have unjewelled belts (LSA 1160 and 1167) and are certainly not imperial. The other *chlamydati* and the two *togati* could be

¹² In Rome, too, military commanders began to be honoured from around 400, with a series of bases to Stilicho. On military commanders in Constantinople, see Bauer (2003: 505–7).

¹³ Some of these pieces, now in museums around the world, are probably, but not with certainty, of Constantinopolitan origin (LSA 8, 443, and 444).

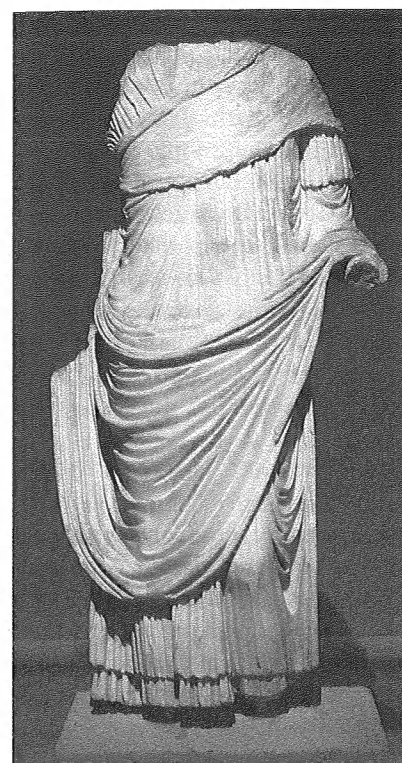


Fig. 11.2 Headless togate statue. From Constantinople. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 1033. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4417. H: 122 cm.

representations of emperors but are more likely to be non-imperial.

Some pieces are of a high quality, comparable to that found in contemporary Aphrodisias (LSA 1033, 1040, 1160, and 1167). The most remarkable pieces, with the characteristic high finish of sculpture designed to be displayed indoors, are a female bust now in the Metropolitan Museum (LSA 8 (Fig. 20.7)) and a long-haired male bust wearing a himation and a fillet, found in the centre of the city and certainly of an intellectual figure (LSA 375) (Fig. 11.3).

Constantinople has also produced three similar shield portraits, presumably from the same group (although none has a good provenance), with male figures holding books, two of which have prominent crosses on their covers (LSA 2416–18) (Fig. 11.4). The Christian iconography

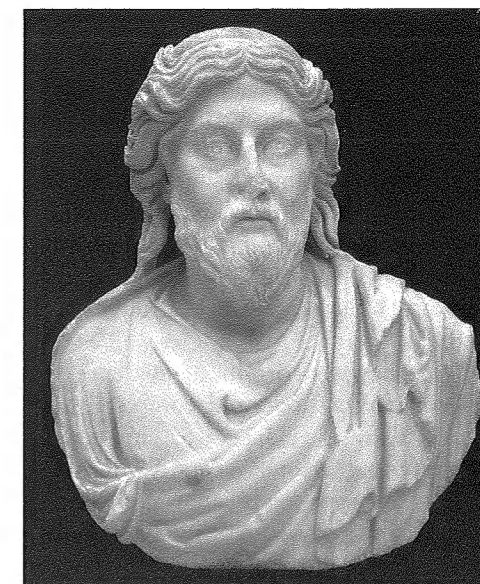


Fig. 11.3 Bust of long-haired man wearing fillet, himation, and chiton. From Constantinople. Fourth century, LSA 375. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2461. H: 57.5 cm.

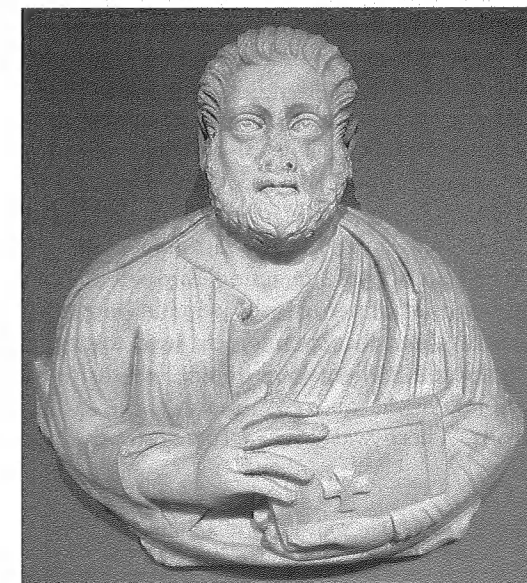


Fig. 11.4 Shield portrait of evangelist or apostle. From Constantinople. Later fourth to fifth century, LSA 2416. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 930. H: 69 cm.

and their stylistic features point to a fifth-century date. These shield portraits belong to an established tradition of representing writers and other intellectual figures in this form (the most famous late antique group is that from Aphrodisias), but here, uniquely, the traditional iconography and the medium of three-dimensional sculpture have been adopted for Christian subjects.¹⁴ The shield portraits show Constantinople to have been a centre of innovation in statuary, as in other artistic fields.

The city has also produced evidence for an entire category of honorand completely absent elsewhere: there is evidence for eighteen statue monuments to charioteers set up in the hippodrome.¹⁵ These are remarkable in a number of different ways: the two surviving bases (LSA 349 and 361, Fig. 2.1) are covered in relief decoration representing the victories of the charioteers honoured; they are massive in size; and they are covered in inscriptions, both verse and prose. Furthermore, they were set up in a space particularly suited to the honorands, the hippodrome, and they date from a relatively short period, the late fifth to early sixth century.¹⁶ The charioteer bases show that statues to non-imperial figures, in this case even individuals of humble social rank, were entirely possible in Constantinople.

On the other hand, we do not have from Constantinople evidence of the pressures that filled late antique Rome with non-imperial statuary (Chapter 10, Machado with Lenaghan). In Rome, particularly in the forum of Trajan, we know of an active interaction through statuary between the emperors, senate, and individual aristocrats, and that statues were used to express the gratitude of clients of different kinds (provincials, guildsmen, and even individuals) to their patrons. There was even a strong tradition of

erecting statues to family members, both dead and alive. In Rome, not only public spaces but also the semi-public confines of the aristocratic *domus* were filled with statues.¹⁷ There is no evidence from Constantinople of these pressures applying anything like the same force that they did in Rome. Constantinople certainly had many more non-imperial statues than we have record of, but almost certainly these were far fewer than those in Rome. Imperial statues clearly dominated the eastern city, if not numerically, certainly in terms of their visual impact.

IMPERIAL STATUARY

The statue evidence from Constantinople is predominantly for imperial statues, some 130 out of the total of about 200 items in our database. As discussed above, this high proportion surely does not accurately reflect the original situation; but there is no doubt that statues to emperors and their families dominated in Constantinople, and that new imperial statues were being erected up to the beginning of the seventh century, long after the statue habit had died elsewhere. As discussed above in Chapter 10, the famous column of Phocas of AD 608 in Rome (LSA 1313) was there a complete 'outlier', while the two columns of Phocas in Constantinople (LSA 2774 and 2775) stood at the end of a long and continuous tradition.

In such a major city, which from the reign of Theodosius I became the fixed residence of the emperor, it is unsurprising that some of the imperial statue monuments were spectacularly large. The most impressive of all were the two columns of Theodosius I and Arcadius (LSA 2458 and 2459), with spiral reliefs and surmounted by colossal bronze statues, and the Golden Gate, with its statue apparently drawn by four elephants (LSA 2497). Hardly less impressive were the statue of Constantine on a porphyry column set in the middle of his forum

¹⁷ Forum of Trajan: Bauer (1996: 93–100). 'Private fora': Bauer (1997). Aristocratic houses: Gehn (2012).

¹⁴ A life-size torso with traces of a beard and holding a book (LSA 2420) may also represent a Christian subject—certainly the iconography is unique within our sample, and its costume, opening in front, is wholly anomalous.

¹⁵ LSA 349, 361, 489, 499–507, and 511 (LSA 489 and 506 both record more than one statue). One of them is probably from a smaller hippodrome, LSA 489.

¹⁶ Cameron (1973: esp. 222–58).

(LSA 2457) and the gigantic equestrian statue of Justinian I on a column in the Augusteion (LSA 2463). Something of the visual impact of this statuary can be seen in the colossal cuirassed bronze statue of an emperor now in Barletta (LSA 441 (Fig. 1.12)), which came almost certainly from Constantinople. Nowhere else is there anything that compares with this scale of honorific statuary in the fifth century. The monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries in particular stand out in contrast to those of contemporary Rome and Ravenna, a clear expression of the shift in wealth and power to the east.

The imperial statuary of Constantinople, as elsewhere, is marked by the frequent use of exotic and expensive materials. Porphyry was used for columns supporting statues (LSA 27, 2457, 2759, 2776, and 2808), most famously for Constantine's surviving column (LSA 2457), and also for surviving statuary (LSA 4 with 439; 454, 1165, 1166, and 2800), which includes a much-discussed porphyry head now in Venice (LSA 454). Imperial statues were sometimes of silver (LSA 27, 2504, 2719, 2737, and 2816)—something attested in our period only for imperial capitals.

A distinctive feature of imperial statue display in Constantinople was the use of tall columns as bases for the most important commemorative monuments, often designed as the central feature of a square. This pattern was established by Constantine with the large porphyry column in the middle of his forum, and was repeatedly imitated later, most famously by Theodosius and Arcadius in their fora with columns decorated with spiral reliefs. The construction and materials of the columns varied: at their most spectacular they were made up of huge marble blocks with an interior spiral staircase (as with the columns of Theodosius I and Arcadius, LSA 2458 and 2459); some were made up of individual drums (such as that of Constantine, LSA 2457, or that of Leo, LSA 2462); some were monolithic (such as the column of Theodosius II at the Hebdomon, LSA 31, and Marcian's column in his forum, LSA 2461, Fig. 11.5); and some were of masonry and brick (like the column of Justinian on the

Augusteion, LSA 2463, originally coated in bronze). Their common feature was, of course, to raise the imperial figure high above the onlooker.¹⁸ The practice continued to the end of the statue habit in Constantinople: two honorific column monuments are recorded for the emperor Phocas (602–10) (LSA 2774 and 2775). Whether these columns all originally carried inscriptions is uncertain—there is no record, for instance, of inscriptions on the bases of the columns of Constantine (LSA 2457), Theodosius (LSA 2458), Arcadius (LSA 2459), and Justinian (LSA 2463).¹⁹

The record of imperial statuary in Constantinople begins with some problematic cases: three literary attestations of tetrarchic statues (LSA 28, 2791, and 2821) in prominent places in the city, including the imperial loge (*kathisma*) of the hippodrome (LSA 28); and parts of two under-life-size statue groups—one is the famous porphyry group now in Venice (LSA 4 with 439; 456). The literary references may be without foundation, and it is certainly difficult to explain why a statue of Maximian stood in the Chalke (LSA 2821), but the surviving groups cannot be questioned.²⁰ The Venetian tetrarchs carved in high relief on porphyry columns cannot have come from a small provincial town such as Byzantium, and were surely brought from elsewhere.²¹ The one tetrarch whom we might expect to find in Constantinople, Constantine's father, Constantius I, is completely absent from our surviving evidence.

There is naturally much evidence for statues of Constantine, but it consists mainly of later literary accounts that are often contaminated by the knowledge that he was the founder of the city and the first Christian emperor. It is unlikely, for

¹⁸ This practice was imitated in a few provincial cities, e.g. at Justiniana Prima, LSA 1784.

¹⁹ A column to Eudoxia, LSA 27, and the famous one to Marcian, LSA 2461, do bear inscriptions.

²⁰ Particularly since the discovery of the tetrarchic foot, missing from the Venetian group, at the probable site of the Philadelphion, LSA 439.

²¹ There is an argument that they were retouched and rededicated at a later date: Laubscher (1999: 230–32). See most recently Niewöhner and Peschlow (2012).

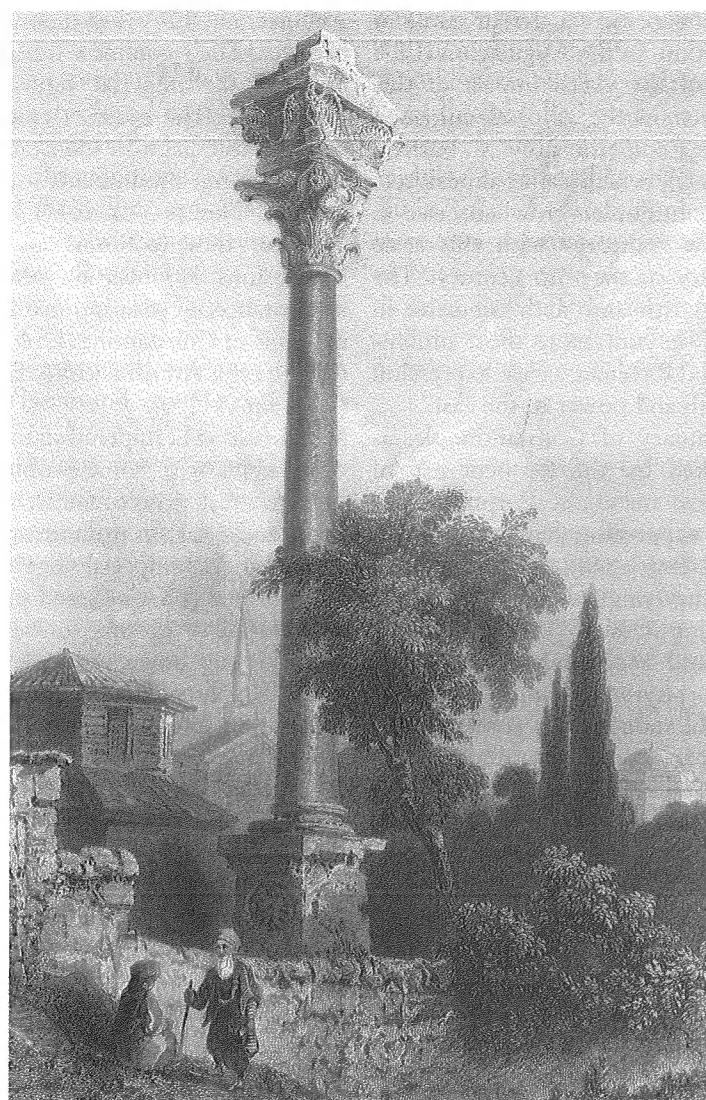


Fig. 11.5 Column for statue of emperor Marcian, Constantinople. 450–52, LSA 2461. Istanbul, Kızıtaşı Caddesi. H: 16.52 m.

example, that recorded statues of Constantine holding a cross, in most cases accompanied by his mother, Helena (LSA 2788, 2795, 2811, and 2813), could ever have been set up in the early fourth century, because this iconography does not appear on any reliably recorded statues or in coinage until much later. The statue of Constantine, however, on the porphyry column standing in the middle of his forum is certain—

although there has been dispute and speculation about the precise nature and meaning of the statue that stood on top (LSA 2457).

Dynastic groups are a striking feature of the Constantinian evidence: one that reputedly once stood in the area of Hagia Sophia (LSA 2779 with 2780, 2781, 2782, and 2785), one on the forum of Constantine itself (LSA 2789), one allegedly at a palace in the Taurus region (LSA 2802 and 2803),

at least one at the Philadelphion (LSA 2814; see also LSA 2819 and 2820), and one at the Augusteion (2817 with 2818). Not all of these groups were necessarily correctly identified by our literary texts, but a serious Constantinian attempt to stress dynastic continuity does seem apparent. The repeated references to statues of Helena (LSA 2785, 2811, 2814, and 2822) are plausible, because she is a figure well represented in the empire-wide record, in both east and west. There are, for example, two bases recorded for her at Neapolis in Campania (LSA 1875 and 1876) and three bases at Side in Pamphylia (LSA 262, 263, and 2098). Of late antique imperial women, Helena is the most frequently recorded recipient of statue honours in our evidence.

Before the Theodosian period, imperial wives appear only rarely in the record. There is an account of statues of Constantine and his wife, Fausta, made of mixed bronze and stone in the senate house of Constantinople (LSA 2799), and there are two literary references in the *Parastaseis* to representations of Julian and his wife, Helena, in one case misnamed 'Anastasia' (LSA 2802 and 2820). The statues of this Helena have no reliable parallels elsewhere in the empire, despite a rich epigraphic record for the emperor Julian, and are probably erroneous.²²

From the Valentinianic period, there is strikingly little evidence of imperial statuary in Constantinople, which is perhaps because the emperors of this dynasty spent very little time in the city. There is one reliable attestation from the rhetor Themistius recording a bronze statue of Gratian (the Elder), father of Valens and Valentinian I, almost certainly erected in 364 (LSA 2703). This prefigures the practice of the Theodosian period of including statues of the ruler's dead father.²³

²² The *Parastaseis* also record statues in Nicomedia of Julian and his wife in the guise of Apollo and Artemis, LSA 2805. If this is true, these would be the last representations in Roman art of an imperial couple in the guise of deities, but this cannot be verified.

²³ Theodosius (the Elder): LSA 721 (Ephesus), 1695 (Canusium), 2725 (Antiochia ad Orontem), 2730 (Rome), and 2731 (Stobi). See also LSA 2722 (Constantinople).

There are two developments in the Theodosian period. First was the re-emergence of statue monuments on the grandest scale: the columns of Theodosius himself (LSA 2458) and of his son Arcadius (LSA 2459), and the great gate erected by Theodosius' grandson Theodosius II (LSA 2497). Secondly, a strong family or dynastic element re-emerges in recorded imperial statuary, following a lull after the death of Constantine, which lasts until the end of the statue habit in the city. Imperial women feature prominently in the evidence for the first time since the exceptional case of Helena: Aelia Flacilla, wife of Theodosius I (LSA 2729); Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius (LSA 27, 2792, and 2793); and Pulcheria, the powerful sister of Theodosius II (LSA 2737, apparently with two of her sisters; 2740, 2746, and 2747). Whole dynastic groups, comparable to those recorded for the Constantinian dynasty, featured in prominent sites of the city: the Forum Tauri of Theodosius (LSA 2458 with 494, 2723, and 2724); the Augusteion (LSA 2719–21); the Milion (LSA 2713–15); the Chalke (LSA 2722); one of the senate houses (LSA 2729); and again in one of the senate houses, a group of busts accompanied by a statue (LSA 2738–41). The one significant piece of imperial statuary surviving from Constantinople is of the Theodosian period—a high-quality head of a youthful emperor, usually thought to be either Arcadius or Theodosius II, but without identifiable features (LSA 337).

The record of imperial statues continues through the later fifth century: five statues of Marcian (LSA 34, 2461, 2734, 2744, and 2745), including his surviving column on the northern branch of the *Mese* (LSA 2461) (Fig. 11.5), probably the location of his forum; two of Leo (LSA 2462 and 2748), including the column in his forum; two of Zeno (LSA 108 and 495); and three of Anastasius (LSA 497, 2752, and 2753).²⁴ Anastasius also had the temerity to appropriate the massive column of Theodosius I for a statue to himself (LSA 2458) after the original statue had been brought down by an earthquake—an

²⁴ These are not necessarily all reliable—e.g. one to Anastasius was reputedly, and improbably, of iron (LSA 2753).

interesting instance of how even the greatest imperial statues did not necessarily stand for long. From this period we have no evidence of family groups, but a remarkable number of statues of imperial women: some of those of Pulcheria mentioned above may well date from the period she was married to Marcian (LSA 2737, 2740, 2746, and 2747); Verina, wife of Leo (LSA 105-7); and Ariadne, wife of Zeno (LSA 109 and 496; see also 2750). One of the statues of Marcian, set up in the forum of Arcadius (LSA 2734), was surely intended to stress the continuity of his rule with that of the Theodosian dynasty. These late fifth-century imperial statues in Constantinople stand out when we note that there is no good evidence of imperial statuary from this period in any provincial city.²⁵

In sixth-century Constantinople, the numbers of recorded imperial statues do not decline significantly, and the pattern of imperial statuary accompanied by dynastic groups and of a large number of statues of imperial women continues. Justin I (518-27) was honoured with his family at the Chalke (LSA 2755), and his wife, Euphemia, by a statue in the quarter called *ta Olybrion* (LSA 2756). Justinian was honoured with the major monument in the Augusteion (LSA 2463) and with statues in the hippodrome (LSA 492), at the Hebdomon (LSA 2760), and, with his wife, Theodora, in the baths of Zeuxippus (LSA 2758). Theodora was further honoured with a statue in the baths of Arcadius (LSA 2759).

Justinian's successor, Justin II (565-78), seems to have been very fond of statues for himself and

his family, some of which, according to our literary sources, were of distant relatives. He was honoured with statues in the harbour that he rebuilt in the name of his wife, Sophia (LSA 474), in an unknown location (LSA 498), in the baths of Zeuxippus (LSA 2764), in the quarter of the city known as *to Deuteron* (LSA 2765), at the praetorium (LSA 2768), and possibly with a further gilded statue (LSA 2770). His wife, Sophia, had an equal number of statues: in her harbour (LSA 473), at the Milion (LSA 2761), in the baths of Zeuxippus (LSA 2763), at the Chalke (LSA 2766), at the praetorium (LSA 2769), and a further possible gilded statue (LSA 2770). Arabia, probably his daughter, was honoured at the harbour of Sophia (LSA 346) and at the Milion (LSA 347); a niece Helena at the Milion (LSA 2762); and his mother, Vigilantia (or Viglentina), at the harbour of Sophia (LSA 2767).

After Justin II, the evidence does begin to thin out, though Tiberius II (578-82) was honoured at the Chalke (LSA 2772), and Maurice (582-602) at the Magnaura (LSA 2773) and apparently in a family group at the Chalke (LSA 118). The last imperial statues were of Phocas (602-10), one at the Magnaura (LSA 2774) and one at the Artropoleion (LSA 2775). With Phocas, reliable records of imperial statue dedications end. There are no records of statues of Heraclius, but his nephew, the military commander Nicetas, did receive the very last statue of Constantinople and of the entire Roman world in 610-25 (LSA 478)—a gilded equestrian column monument.²⁶

²⁵ The only possible exceptions are the inscriptions LSA 13 (Salona) and 1986 (Tarraco), though we do not think they are for statues.

²⁶ Later references to imperial statues are extremely dubious and, in our opinion, best discounted (LSA 2823, 2824, and 2825).

CHAPTER 12

Aphrodisias

R. R. R. Smith

INTRODUCTION

Honorific statues were part of a certain kind of urban activity and local politics, nowhere more than in provincial capitals, and most notably in 'statue-loving' regions. This chapter is a case study of one such city, Aphrodisias—an exceptionally well-preserved late Roman provincial capital with a strong local sculpture tradition inside a region with a dense statue habit stretching back to the sixth century BC.

We may elaborate briefly on three aspects of Aphrodisias' archaeology: survival, local tradition, and typicality. It is important to position the remarkable evidence from this one site correctly. For historical reasons, Aphrodisias had a relatively quiet, uncataclysmic urban ending. By the early seventh century, after the breakdown of control from Constantinople exacerbated by Persian then Arab raiders, the city ceased to function as a political centre. The classical monuments, some still standing, some already partly collapsed and in ruins, were abandoned and slowly covered, leaving intact much of the urban centre as it had been maintained and reconfigured in late antiquity. What was then still standing collapsed later, in its own good time. The site is some distance from the main routes east-west and north-south of western Anatolia, and was not systematically or substantially picked over. We have essentially the fifth-century city—one of the best-preserved such

cityscapes in the late antique Mediterranean world. More statue monuments have been excavated in situ or with good display contexts than in any other city of the empire.

Aphrodisias also had a deep tradition of statue making and statue use. It participated, as other cities, in the intensive statue habit of the early imperial period (the first and second centuries AD, or what we will call here simply the 'early' period). There were good marble quarries close to the urban centre, and the city had developed a widely known marble-working skill base. Top sculptors travelled to, and sometimes signed works in, Rome, Italy, and later, Constantinople.¹ Already in antiquity, Aphrodisias was known as a statue place. And in the late period the city, as a provincial capital, maintained its buildings and its statue practice. Some highly unusual, big-name statue impresarios are known in the fourth century from their lavish epigraphic trace. There was, for example, probably no bigger name in the statue business in this period than the great (and controversial) figure of Flavius Zenon, attested in both Aphrodisias and Rome in c. 325-50, who, with one or more colleagues, has left more surviving 'signatures' than any other statuary personnel.² He is

¹ Bergmann (1999: 57-67).

² Fl. Zenon: *IGUR* IV. 1594-8. His colleagues are *IGUR* IV. 1592-3, 1599-1611. See also *ALA* 11-12; Moltesen (2000: 114, 116-17, 123-4); and most recently Vorster (2012/13: 396-400).